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Moiseyev Details Troop Cuts in Northwest

LD2710093189 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—"Conditions for a further reduction of Soviet forces in the northwest of the country have been created by positive changes in Europe and improving relations with the northern countries—Finland, Sweden and Norway," Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the Soviet General staff, told TASS.

Moiseyev said that implementing the Soviet defensive military doctrine based on the principle of reasonable sufficiency, the Soviet Union is carrying out a structural reorganisation of the Leningrad military area. It involves the elimination of large armour units and reduction of the number of tanks by 50 per cent.

General Moiseyev said that the personnel of the Leningrad and Baltic areas would be reduced by a third in the period up to 1991, making the Northwestern Army Group purely defensive. Forces in the Baltic area will be mostly cut already at the end of this year and in 1990. In addition to reorganisation, several units and formations will be disbanded. This will be done in keeping with the announced unilateral reduction of Soviet Armed Forces.

The planned measures will cut the Northwestern Army Group by 40,000 men and 1,200 tanks. Substantial cuts will also be made in artillery. The military equilibrium between NATO and the USSR in basic armaments and technology will in the main be observed.

Moiseyev said that further cuts of Soviet troops in that region depended on reciprocal steps of the United States and NATO. Despite progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional weapons, the Soviet side is disturbed by the lack of prospects for the complete liquidation of nuclear weapons in the region and by recent setbacks to disarmament.

"They find expression above all in NATO's unwillingness to carry on negotiations on naval forces, to extend confidence-building measures to the naval activities of both blocs, especially in the Atlantic, and in the Norwegian and Baltic Seas," General Moiseyev concluded.

Last SS-23 Missile Eliminated at Saryozek

LD2710093289 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The last of the 957 shorter-range missiles, banned by the Soviet-U.S. Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty, was destroyed in the Soviet Union at 09:00 Moscow time on Friday, a senior Soviet military official told TASS.

Colonel-General Bronislav Omelichev, first deputy chief of the Armed Forces General Staff, said the elimination of the first batch of shorter-range missiles began on the Saryozek test site in Kazakhstan on August 1, 1988, and ended this summer.

The missiles had been built at a machine-building plant in the Udmurt autonomous republic and their launchers at the Barrikady plant in Volgograd.

The general said the missile destroyed today was a land-launched OTR-23, or SS-23 as it is known in the West, with a range of 500 kilometers. The missile had been put into service in the early 1980s.

Omelichev said U.S. inspectors witnessed the elimination of the missile at Saryozek.

"A whole class of nuclear weapons—shorter-range missiles—ceased to exist in the Soviet Union today," the general said.

Research Focus, Future Development of SDI Discussed

PM2310151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Candidate of Historical Sciences A. Podberezkin article: "SDI: The Forgotten Aspect"]

[Text] SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) has been at the center of world public attention for 6 years now. Various aspects of it—political, military strategic, and economic—have been extensively discussed in detail. PRAVDA has repeatedly published articles on the subject. One aspect of SDI is the military-technical aspect. And, it seems to us, this is the essence of the present-day stage of the arms race and the military preparations under way in the United States.

SDI is currently at a stage where serious political decisions have to be made regarding the further prospects for its development. These are hard decisions for both the U.S. Administration and Congress. Calls are now being made not only to stop building up the financing of the programs but, moreover, to radically cut the scale of the work. These calls have been reflected in the position of Congress and cannot fail to have influenced the White House position, too. At the same time, one sometimes gets the erroneous impression (not only in the West, but even among some Soviet specialists) that the switching of priorities and the reduction of appropriations for the implementation of SDI virtually mean that the program is being abandoned. Yet, in the assessment of, for instance, experts from the prestigious U.S. Brookings Institution, who were set the task of comparing major U.S. arms procurement programs in the nineties, $119.3 billion could be allocated to SDI in this decade, which would make it the third largest arms procurement program. As a comparison—this is almost $20 billion more than the planned spending on armaments for all U.S. ground forces!

We recall that, on leaving the White House, the Reagan Administration bequeathed the Bush team a whole range of strategic programs, turning it essentially into a hostage of the wide-ranging research and development programs carried out over the course of many years, which have been rightly assessed as an attempt to make a major military-technical leap forward into the future. Pride of place in this range of programs belonged to SDI, which encapsulated a whole number of highly important avenues in the development of state-of-the-art technology.

As the U.S. defense secretary's annual report to Congress on proposed military programs noted, the continuation of work on SDI is "necessary to retain our advantage in the sphere of technology and to expand our potential to counteract any possible threat." On the whole, the report admitted, work on SDI is currently being carried out far faster than many people had expected.

In this connection I would like to note one by no means fortuitous coincidence: Since 1982 (that is, virtually from the time that R. Reagan advanced the idea of SDI) the United States has annually drawn up and clarified a list of "strategically important technologies" which should be given priority development. The list of these technologies is compiled at the request of Congress by the Department of Defense and the Department of Energy. It indicates how the United States and the USSR stand in each sphere in relation to each other. In 1989, for instance, 22 technologies united in a special program were spotlighted. They virtually coincided with the list of technologies of paramount importance for the implementation of SDI.

Thus the closest link exists between the strategic U.S. course of maintaining and increasing its military-technical leadership and the implementation of scientific and technical programs within the SDI framework. Moreover, the aim of this technological leadership is to achieve military superiority, to shift military strategy toward the "usability" of nuclear weapons, and to turn these weapons into a "flexible" and "controllable" tool of foreign policy.

There is also another aspect to this description of the problem. In itself the idea of SDI corresponds most fully to the principles of the officially asserted concept of "strategic rivalry" that forms the basis of present-day U.S. military doctrine. The essence of this concept is to make maximum use of the latest technological achievements to ensure the preferential qualitative development of U.S. military potential, giving priority to those future weapons types and systems which will not only ensure qualitative superiority, but make Soviet retaliation deliberately ineffective and economically very expensive.

In this respect SDI encapsulates within its programs the key avenues of technological progress in the military sphere not only with a view to developing [sozdaniye] an ABM defense system, but also in the interests of developing [sozdaniye] qualitatively new armaments and military hardware for all branches of the armed forces.

Jack Kemp, the well known U.S. politician, believes that there are several reasons why the current government should expedite implementation of SDI. Among these reasons the increased military potential in the sphere of conventional arms looms large, too. "The technology being developed [razrabatyvayemyye] under SDI," he says, "will bring important additional results and advantages that will enhance Western capabilities in conventional defense.... Lasers and sensor monitoring systems, for instance, have obvious potential for use against tanks, aircraft, and cruise missiles...."

It is this approach that makes it possible to understand the special devotion among a considerable proportion of the U.S. ruling elite to SDI, and its readiness to invest huge sums in the entire range of scientific and technical programs. In this sense the development [sozdaniye] of an ABM defense system may **only be one of the results** of the implementation of SDI, and perhaps not the main result. It is becoming clear why the U.S. military-political leadership is emphasizing its attention to the "research" nature of SDI.

Now that the discussion of the question of just where SDI is leading is being conducted particularly actively in the United States and other countries, the debate is mainly focused on the question of whether the ABM defense system will be "broad" or "narrow," "single-layered" or "multilayered." Certain arguments (which have won popularity, it must be said) to the effect that in the next few years SDI should be restricted "exclusively" to scientific research goals are seen as virtually indicating the administration's abandonment of the implementation of SDI. In actual fact it is merely a question of possibly postponing the timetable for the full-scale development [razrabotka] and industrial production of SDI components and elements, and this in no way concerns the actual research process, which is already quite far advanced in a whole number of areas. Of course, the postponement of the timetable for the production of developed [razrabotannyy] ABM defense systems is of great importance in itself, including the fact that it would be considerably easier to resolve the issue of retaining the 1972 ABM Treaty at the talks on nuclear and space weapons. But it should not be forgotten that full-scale scientific research work on SDI, even in Congress' truncated version, represents an unprecedented spiral in the arms race and a highly powerful catalyst for the arms race in the next few decades.

The discussion under way in the United States on the priority of the strategic programs which will determine the nature of U.S. military power is focusing on the question of how to spend money on strategic arms most effectively at a time when the potential to obtain funding for them is being limited. In practice this means that for the next decade it is planned to "sensibly" spend more than $236 billion on strategic programs alone. In just what way is this enormous sum to be distributed, and what will the priorities for U.S. military policy be?

It is planned to spend $64.0 billion on the development [sozdaniye] and production of the Stealth strategic bomber;
$16.3 billion on the MX missile;
$9.1 billion on the mobile version of the MX;
$44.7 billion on the Midgetman missile;

$16.9 billion on nuclear submarines (Trident II);
$35.5 billion on ballistic missiles for nuclear submarines (Trident II);
and $50.3 billion on SDI research **alone**.

Thus, the research section of the SDI program alone is comparable to the largest programs for the development [sozdaniye] and production of new strategic offensive arms systems. In light of this we need hardly talk about SDI "dying out." As the U.S. specialists G. Adams [initial as transliterated] and S. Alexis noted in a recent issue of the journal INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, "this program (SDI—A.P.) is currently focused on technologies and armaments which could be developed [sozdany] in the mid or late nineties." In this connection they consider it "prudent" to continue long-term research, spending $2 billion on it annually. Thus, it is planned to save considerable sums for other programs, avoiding the hasty deployment of ABM defense systems and without influencing the pace of scientific and technical development [razrabotka]. According to other assessments, it is planned to ask Congress for $3-4 billion a year for the research side of SDI.

We would add that the "purely" research program of SDI has already cost a minimum of $15 billion, and it will continue to be the largest scientific research program even with the planned cuts.

As an incentive for a qualitative arms race SDI is inevitably programming the arms race for many years to come, artificially expanding its scope and technological compass, and increasingly raising the level of economic expenditure.

I think that the United States will ultimately realize the futility of hoping to develop "ultimate" weapons systems and the pointlessness of military-technical rivalry, and will finally conclude that priority should be given not to technological programs, but to political approaches toward safeguarding security. Only it is important that this not happen too late.

In the meantime, in many respects the approach of achieving military-technical advantages has had a negative influence on the U.S. position at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons: The commitment to SDI shown by the former and present administrations has outweighed their desire to conclude an agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons. A vicious circle has emerged whereby further progress at the talks has been obstructed by Washington's reluctance to abandon the idea of deploying an ABM defense system. That is why, during the September meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker in Wyoming the Soviet minister stated our country's readiness to sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offensive weapons even if agreement on the ABM problem is not reached by the time the treaty has been drawn up.

Clearly, the USSR's position on this issue promotes the resolution of the main problem at the talks. However, this step in no way means that the USSR has come to terms with the possibility of the parallel improvement of strategic offensive and defensive potentials. After all, two conditions under which it is possible to conclude a treaty on strategic offensive weapons are envisaged: First, the sides should observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972; second, they retain the right to withdraw from the treaty on strategic offensive weapons if one of the sides fails to observe the ABM Treaty. Thus, on the one hand, the compromise proposed by the USSR provides a real opportunity to reach agreement on reducing strategic offensive weapons, and, on the other hand, it reaffirms the objective relationship between strategic offensive weapons and defensive weapons—a relationship that is at the heart of strategic stability.

Yazov Claims Plans To Cut Tank Production by Half

LD2510180389 Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] The WASHINGTON POST has reported that Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov disclosed plans to cut Soviet tank production by half over the next 5 years.

Quoting unamed defense officials in Washington, the paper said Yazov told Defense Secretary Cheney of the plan at their meeting at the Pentagon earlier this month. In Moscow a Soviet Foreign Ministry official refused to comment on that report. At the same time, he stressed that if a conventional arms agreement in Vienna is signed, Warsaw Pact countries would cut their armored troop strength not by half, but three times. He said that would naturally result in the reduction of tank production in this country.

TASS Reports Perfilyev Press Briefing 26 Oct

PLO Contacts

LD2610161889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1447 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (TASS)—A spokesman for the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs spoke today about contacts with members of the PLO Executive Committee, the leaders of the Palestinian National Liberation Front and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which took place recently in Moscow.

Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry Information Directorate, said at the briefing that during these meetings the situation in the Near East was examined. The sides exchanged information about the efforts, which are being undertaken by the USSR and the PLO, to utilize all means to advance the peace process in the region, and to undertake practical steps to set in motion the Arab-Israeli settlement.

Vadim Perfilyev said that a representative of the Foreign Affairs Ministry will travel to the region in the near future to continue the contacts.

RSA, Israeli Nuclear Weapons Links

LD2610171289 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Reports on cooperation between Israel and South Africa in creating nuclear missile weapons attest to the fact that Israel is the initiator and leader of the arms race in the Middle East, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

The spokesman, first deputy chief of the Information Department Vadim Perfilyev, called on Israel to discard military programmes that endanger the stability of the military and political situation in and around the region.

Attempts to ensure security by amassing the most deadly weapons are senseless in this age and pose a threat to universal peace and security, he said.

Namibia Settlement

LD2610171689 Moscow TASS in English 1649 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has positively assessed the results of the work of a joint commission assigned to monitor the settlement in South-Western Africa.

Addressing newsmen at the ministry's press centre here today, Ambassador-at-Large Vyacheslav Ustinov said that despite difficulties that emerged during the commission's extraordinary session in South Africa, the commission tried to contribute to the effort to keep the process normal and free from problems.

Ustinov said that concerted efforts resulted in finding solutions to several difficult problems and prevented the emergence of new conflicts in that part of the african continent.

"This will undoubtedly facilitate progress in the Namibian settlement," he stated.

The ambassador, who headed the Soviet delegation to the session, announced that a group of Soviet observers left for Namibia. Assigned to the U.N. secretary-general's special representative, they will monitor elections to that country's constituent assembly.

USSR, Council of Europe Meeting

LD2610171889 Moscow TASS in English 1659 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—A second meeting of the joint working group for the development of contacts and inter-governmental cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Council of Europe was held the other day in Moscow.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfiliyev told a briefing today that the meeting discussed transition from a stage of mutual study of possibilities for cooperation to specific projects, direct contacts and the implementation of ideas Mikhail Gorbachev advised in Strasbourg.

The spokesman said that their implementation will undoubtedly be beneficial for the whole of Europe. It is a step toward rapprochement between Eastern and Western Europe.

The idea of exchanging legislative information on human rights, and development of cooperation in the areas of ecology, culture, education and sports holds out promise, Perfiliyev said. The Foreign Ministry spokesman noted that there are also possibilities for the development of cooperation in the health services, also as regards combatting aids and drug addiction.

Petrovskiy Addresses United Nations Committee

LD2610232389 Moscow TASS in English 2301 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] New York October 27 TASS—"In its view of the future, the Soviet Union attaches most important role to the United Nations Organisation, to international institutions. We attach priority importance to enhancing the United Nations role and its prestige in international affairs."

Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, said this on Thursday in the First Committee of the U.N. General Assembly (for political, disarmament and related international security questions).

He said the Soviet foreign policy is based on the principles of primacy of common human values, morality and ethics.

These values are not abstract notions. They exist, and they cannot be interpreted arbitrarily or selectively.

Generally recognized documents, above all the United Nations Charter, declarations, covenants and conventions, resolutions adopted and observed by the overwhelming majority of states serve as the guidelines, he said.

Precisely this approach enables the USSR to admit courageously and honestly the errors made, and it is a guarantee that they will be corrected and prevented in future, Petrovskiy said.

The primacy of common human values means also the priority of international interaction. International institutions and mechanisms are called upon to play the guiding, consolidating and integrating role, to serve as a beacon of stability in the world today.

All-out support for the United Nations is one of the main directions of the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

The Soviet Union's reappraisal of the role and place of the United Nations and other international mechanisms of interaction went hand-in-hand with the growing awareness of the fact that there are no problems in the world that are not our concern.

The ensurance of compatibility of the measures taken in the USSR with international practice assumes special importance during perestroika in the USSR.

The changes in conceptual approaches to the United Nations entailed practical steps to restructure the Soviet Union's line in the United Nations, petrovskiy said.

This is the purpose of the unified strategic line with regard to the United Nations and related international organisations, adopted by the USSR. It is based on such fundamental principles as the consistent course at deideologisation of the United Nations and the overcoming of politisation of its specialised institutions.

This strategic line is based on fundamental orientation at observering and following standards developed by international organisations and serving as the gauge of the conduct of states in virtually every area of human activity.

The revival through which the United Nations is now living has been manifested most strikingly in its growing success in the construction of a new world and settlement of regional conflicts. This revival is also felt in the area of disarmament.

This is promoted by the fact that instead of more declaration, disarmament is now beginning to be manifested in specific actions.

However, most dynamic changes in the area of disarmament take place so far only in Soviet-American relations. A great deal has been acheived in this. As a result of recent meetings in Washington and Wyoming the Soviet-American dialogue was brought to a new level.

A comprehensive approach to the quest of security requires bilateral and multilateral efforts in the area of disarmament.

It is only through multilateral efforts and arrangements that it is possible to eliminate nuclear weapons, create guarantees that they are not restored, impose a comprehensive ban on nuclear tests, prevent the spread of the arms race to space, agree on parameters of reasonable sufficiency of military potentials and ensure that they are defensive only.

It is expedient to employ multilateral mechanisms also for the solution of such important matters as non-proliferation and elimination of chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, the limitation and reduction of conventional arms, and world military expenditures and arms deliveries.

It is the main thing that the United Nations activity be oriented at the establishment of a new model of security on a global scale, at a turn away from the principles of overarmament to principles of reasonable sufficiency.

"We believe that the enhancement of the role and effectiveness of the General Assembly in the sphere of disarmament would also be promoted by consistent fulfilment of appropriate resolutions of the general assembly", petrovskiy said.

"And we do not just urge others to do so, while keeping apart. We embark on this ourselves and we show consideration for how our words and actions are regarded."

"New political thinking made us employ a different criteria of our own conduct, viewing them through the prism of common human values," he said.

"Thus, in connection with Afghanistan, taking into account numerous instances when our action was condemned by 100 odd members of the United Nations, we have come to realise that we have opposed ourselves to the international community, violated norms of conduct, went against common human values. The realisation of this made us withdraw our troops from Afghanistan," Petrovskiy said.

An example from disarmament area can be cited. Over a number of years, the Soviet Union voted against the resolution calling for the termination of production of fissionable materials for military purposes. Later the USSR was abstaining from voting, and now it actively supports the resolution. This is not a tactical correction of the stance, but its essential revision, Petrovskiy said.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister declared for a substantial enhancement of the United Nations contribution to multilateral disarmament. He declared that the United Nations Security Council, in the framework of its powers, should tackle matters of armaments regulation.

The United Nations secretary-general plays an important role in the United Nations activity for the consolidation of international peace and security through disarmament, he said.

The Soviet Union heeds the opinion of the U.N. secretary-general and highly appreciates his recommendations, striving to help them promote the enhancement of the United Nations effciency.

The setting up of various mechanisms helping the United Nations secretary-general in his effective work is wholly justifiable. Thus a mechanism for investigating various uses of chemical and bacteriological weapons is functioning.

The Soviet Union is prepared to admit to its territory U.N. groups of inspectors in the framework of the agreed-upon procedures.

Further steps in this direction should be considered, for instance, by working out a similar mechanism for the investigation of cases of possible violation of the convention of "inhumane weapons".

The USSR believes that the work of the First Committee of the General Assembly can be made more effective by passing on from debates to virtual actions and adopting important decisions.

The Geneva Conference on Disarmament plays a special role in multilateral efforts.

Its priority task is to conclude talks on the working out of a convention on complete and effective ban on the development, production and stockpiling of all kinds of chemical weapons and on their destruction.

This would give an important impetus to work in other directions, above all on matters of terminating nuclear tests, curtailing the nuclear arms race and preventing nuclear war.

The USSR is in favour of this multilateral forum becoming a universal permanent body for talks on disarmament.

The Soviet Union highly appreciates the successful initiatives of France and Australia for the holding of conference on chemical weapons in Paris and Canberra. The USSR spports the idea of spreading the action of the 1963 Moscow treaty to underground nuclear tests, welcomes the United States initiative for working out a regime of open skies and will take part in a conference proposed by Canada to discuss this matter.

The Soviet Union is prepared to discuss such a problem as international supplies of armaments and to take part in deciding on parameters.

The problem of terminating naval arms race requires the use of entire mechanism for talks, Petrovskiy said. He also set out the Soviet stance on the problem of regional disarmament.

The Soviet Union calls for a constructive dialogue about ways and means of using the potential of multilateral disarmament, the Soviet deputy foreign minister said in conclusion.

Commonwealth Conference Results Discussed

PM2510162189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Reports by D. Kosyrev, Tomas Kolesnichenko, and Igor Tarutin under general heading: "Renunciation in Kuala Lumpur"]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, 24 Oct—The summit conference of the Countries of the Commonwealth—an international organization consisting of 49 states which once belonged to the British Empire—ended here today in the Malaysian capital. The conference's main achievement was the "Langkawi Declaration" on the environment, which urges the entire international community and the developed and developing states to undertake a joint struggle to keep our planet clean. A separate declaration adopted at the meeting contains a call to toughen economic sanctions against the racist regime of the Republic of South Africa [RSA].

It was decided to hold the next summit meeting in 1991 in Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. Emeka Anyaoku (Nigeria) was elected the new head of the Commonwealth's working organ—the secretariat.

London, 24 Oct—As is well known, every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way. In calling Britain and the 48 other members of the Commonwealth "one big unhappy family," the press here attentively followed the conference of the heads of government of the Commonwealth countries which has just ended in the Malaysian capital.

It has already become traditional for commentators to stress "London's growing isolation" during such meetings. This time the isolation was displayed, in an extremely unique and unexpected manner, on the main question which separated Britain from the other participants in the conference, that is their attitude toward the RSA. It would seem that the British premier, realizing that she remained in "splendid isolation," had agreed to join the majority and sign the joint declaration confirming the extension of sanctions until "fundamental political changes take place in the country" and calling for the stepping up of financial pressure on Pretoria to make it reject the policy of apartheid. But not even a few hours had passed after the end of the meeting before Margaret Thatcher unexpectedly made a statement which in fact repudiated her signature to the Kuala Lumpur declaration.

In the statement the British prime minister denies that the sanctions are of any benefit, calling them "merely a contribution to South Africa's indigence and poverty" and "a means of preventing growing dialogue within the country." Instead M. Thatcher proposes here "own view of the RSA and its future." It must be said that this view is also largely shared by RSA Foreign Minister P. Botha, as he has stated. As for the other members of the British Commonwealth "family," many of them expressed their "indignation at London's action."

M. Thatcher's disavowal of the Kuala Lumpur declaration has given rise to a mixed reaction in the British parliament. The Tory deputies, as agreed, supported their premier while the opposition used this event for new attacks against her. "M. Thatcher's action has aggravated the United Kingdom's dangerous isolation from the other Commonwealth members," Labour Party official spokesman G. Foulkes stated. David Owen, former British foreign secretary and leader of the Social Democratic Party, noted that "putting one's signature to a document and immediately disavowing it cannot be an example of honest diplomacy."

One way or another the declaration signed in Malaysia gives the RSA Government 6 months to fulfill a promise to conduct dialogue with the African National Congress (ANC) during this time and to drastically alter the country's internal life and abandon the most odious forms of apartheid. As for the ANC itself, Tabo Mbeki [name as transliterated], who represented that organization at the conference, stated the ANC will continue the struggle right up to the complete elimination of the system of apartheid.

Harare, 24 Oct—The meeting in Kuala Lumpur put forward the demand not to renounce the restrictions already introduced and to seek new forms of pressure, especially in such an important sphere as the financial one. In this connection there was also an examination of the idea of creating a specialized agency for investigating South Africa's ties with international banks.

But Britain sharply opposed the package of proposed actions. Such actions have become traditional for it, generating keen criticism from other Commonwealth members. London is protecting the enormous interests of big British capital, which occupies a leading place in terms of the volume of its capital investments in the RSA and its trade turnover with it.

The underlying motives are clear. Superficially there is a whole range of reasons allegedly preventing the curtailment of broad ties with the South African region. They even include concern for the black population who will allegedly be the first to suffer from such measures. This range of arguments has been repeated for a number of years and has already become standard.

Of course, changes can be seen in the RSA's domestic and foreign policy and they have obviously gone beyond the framework of cosmetic measures which, incidentally, is also recognized on the Black Continent. Evidence of this can be found in the recent meeting between Zambian leader K. Kaunda, chairman of the group of "frontline" states, and the present South African President F. de Klerk. At the same time independent Africa rightly points out that apartheid still exists. It believes that it was not least the powerful international pressure which forced Pretoria's ruling circles to embark on changes. Therefore, it has been pointed out, outside pressure must in no circumstance be weakened in striving for the definitive elimination of the system of racial oppression and the fulfillment of the black population's basic demands.

The Commonwealth meeting has shown that it is not only the Africans but also very different states which adhere to this opinion.

Use of Satellites in Media Discussed at Conference

LD2510140289 Moscow TASS in English 1352 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Washington October 25 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vladimir Matyash:

The role of regional satellite systems in the development of mass media is currently under discussion at the annual conference of space communication users Washington D.C.

An improvement in the international situation and Soviet-American relations has made it possible to establish fruitful business contacts with TASS and other Soviet mass media concerning designs of satellite communication systems, it was noted at the conference.

Equipment, made by the American firm Contel, was successfully tested aboard Soviet satellites in December 1988.

According to the conference organisers, TASS cooperation with the Contel firm is "one of the many examples which mark the new atmosphere in east-west relations".

TASS General Director Leonid Kravchenko's report on the activities and tasks of TASS and the USSR State Television and Radio Committee (Gosteleradio) under Soviet perestroyka was read out at the conference. TASS transmits daily information at a total volume of more than 4 million words. TASS news is received by over 4,000 newspapers, radio and televison stations in the Soviet Union and also approximately 1,100 foreign subscribers in eight foreign languages.

TASS distributes amid subscribers about 6.5 million photographs every year.

To transmit information, TASS and Gostelradio use five radio and television channels, radio relay lines, as long as 250,000 km, and a sophisticated space communication system.

Satellite communication and satellite television began in 1957 when the first Soviet satellite was launched. 20 Orbita receiving stations were functioning in the USSR ten years later. The new Soviet rocket Energiya can deploy superheavy satellites into orbit, opening up vast possibilities.

In the nuclear age there is a pressing need to help each other build bridges of confidence between countries and nations, to remove cold war aftermaths and to break the "enemy image" stereotype, the report says. Television, radio and all other mass media should be used only for the good of peace and the prosperity of mankind, the report stresses.

Continued Progress in EEC-CEMA Ties Urged

PM2510105789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[Vladimir Peresada "View From Moscow": "Will East and West Meet?"]

[Text] How long it sometimes takes for preconditions for profound, large-scale changes to mature in international relations. How quickly these changes take place when these preconditions mature. For decades the area between the Atlantic and the Urals, which ceased to be called Europe and acquired, instead, the featureless labels of East and West, was an arena of confrontation between two blocs armed to the teeth partitioned by an iron curtain of mistrust, suspicion, and fear. Kipling's phrase of times long gone—"East is East, and West is West, and never the Twain shall meet"—seemed to have been condemned forever to the reputation of a sad truism. But then just a few years ago the policy of new thinking began working, and now it is a question not only of overcoming the split on the continent but also of building a common European home.

This home is still on the drawing board, and earnest work has to be done to ensure that its plan embodies as fully as possible the trend toward rapprochement between the two parts of Europe. There are many "architectural components"—from the military-political to the ecological. All are important, but they include one which carries a particularly powerful cementing charge and so must be a top priority. I mean the task of broadening and deepening economic ties between the East and West of the continent and between their economic organizations—CEMA and the EEC. I believe that precisely this cooperation can serve as the foundation of the "European construction site."

This is why.

First, under the conditions of the new political climate, both West Europe and East Europe have finally recognized the reality that their economic structures are complementary and interdependent. It is particularly valuable that the result of that recognition is concrete. The establishment of official CEMA-EEC relations in 1988 not only removed the long-standing alienation of the two major economic groupings but also opened the way to the search for practical spheres of cooperation.

Second, integration economic processes have long been occurring in both parts of the continent. Of course, there are very many differences between them, but this certainly does not rule out a common thrust or similar methods of implementation. Particularly today, when these processes have entered a new phase. West Europe has tackled the creation by 1993 of a single internal market of the EEC, while our community has adopted a policy of having the interested CEMA countries gradually proceed to the formation of a united socialist market in the long term. Thus, there is the possibility of combining integration within the groupings with the organization of broad ties both between them and among the states which make them up. Even though this is complex and attended by many problems, it cannot fail to be seen that unprecedentedly favorable conditions, I would say, are now taking shape for the advancement of cooperation in Europe.

How are things going here? In different ways. The development of relations between the EEC and individual CEMA countries is an obvious achievement. As is known, trade and trade-industrial agreements have already been signed with Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and talks with the GDR, Bulgaria, and the USSR are proceeding successfully.

A new piece of good news recently came out of Brussels. There, at the EC headquarters, the second round of talks on the conclusion of an agreement with the Soviet Union was held. After embarking on a detailed examination of the draft document, the sides agreed in principle to grant each other most-favored nation status in trade and to organize cooperation in spheres such as statistics, standardization, power generation, nuclear power generation, investments, science and technology, transportation, environmental protection, and others. There are still a number of questions requiring additional discussion, but the outlines of this agreement are already such that the Belgian press rightly calls it "the broadest of all those concluded to date by the EC."

All this cannot fail to please us. However, there are things that arouse concern and put us on our guard. I will remind you that the joint declaration on the establishment of official CEMA-EEC relations recorded this principle: Their ties will be built on parallel planes—on the one hand between the organizations as such and, on the other, between the EEC and individual CEMA countries. Yet the "global aspect" of these ties is faltering in its development. The corresponding talks are so far taking place only at the level of experts, and our partners are not being active in them. Of course, a dialogue is useful but, being limited to general topics, it cannot take the place of specific action. The picture is such that relations between the two organizations have made practically no progress since the signing of the 1988 joint declaration.

Of course, many factors come into play here. A number of difficulties are due to the need to delimit the spheres of cooperation between the EEC and CEMA and between the "Common Market" and individual socialist countries. In addition, the organizations have different powers in different spheres of possible cooperation.

Also, there are other objective causes slowing down the development of East-West economic cooperation as a whole.

However, I cannot keep silent about negative factors of a subjective nature, too. Back in April of this year the EC Council of Ministers adopted a document showing preference for the growth of bilateral ties with CEMA countries. This hardly corresponds to the letter and spirit of the joint declaration or the principle of parallelism provided for in it, which I have already mentioned. Clearly, commentators are right to believe that the EEC still entertains the illusion of the possibility of using economic levers to pressure individual CEMA countries.

At the same time, reflecting the position of West European business circles and the public, many "Common Market" experts advocate changes with regard to CEMA and the development of cooperation on the "global" level.

Hopefully, the deadlocked situation can still be overcome. In my view, the intensive exchange of opinions at the international conference on questions of developing CEMA-EEC cooperation, held in Moscow last week, will have contributed to this. A further meeting of their representatives is scheduled for November in Brussels, where specific positive moves are expected to be possible.

The fact, above all, that both economic groupings have an objective interest in each other enables me to be an optimist. For us, it is precisely cooperation with West European states that has become the main area of economic relations with the West; and the creation of the single EEC market only intensifies the gravitational field. The united socialist market, which will be more capacious than the internal EEC market in terms both of the number of consumers and of its industrial, scientific, and technical potential, would in turn be very advantageous to West Europe as a large-scale partner. It is important now to lose no time, to overcome the inertia of that lengthy period which, to put it mildly, was "underproductive," and to create a "continental mechanism" of business ties with the maximum promptness.

Undoubtedly, both processes of economic integration are proceeding independently, each one going its own way. But there are points of contact between them and, it is to be hoped, they will increase in number. Developing East-West economic cooperation will help to realize one of the strategic ideas of the new thinking: Away from a split continent, toward a common European home.

Adamishin Addresses Paris UNESCO Session

LD2610125389 Moscow TASS in English 1127 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Paris October 26 TASS—"UNESCO has successfully coped with the crisis it faced two years ago," Anatoliy Adamishin, head of the Soviet delegation and deputy foreign minister, said at the 25th session of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) general conference now under way here.

UNESCO has been given a fresh impetus. The atmosphere of UNESCO discussions and activities is improving. It is departing from rhetoric and politicized skirmishes.

A year ago the Soviet foreign minister spoke here with a major degree of self-criticism about our share of responsibility for UNESCO's past difficulties. It should be noted now that the Soviet Union is promoting both by word and by deed a favourable change in the atmosphere in UNESCO.

UNESCO focuses attention on really major, priority problems, Adamishin said. These are biotechnology and oceanography, the preservation of mankind's cultural values and national distinction, literacy programmes, ecology and new sources of energy.

UNESCO should collect advanced ideas and the best accomplishments, generate new thoughts and ensure the fair distribution of what has been achieved, to involve all people into humanitarian, scientific technological progress, he said.

All UNESCO member states, Adamishin said, can rest assured that the Soviet Union gives its full support to UNESCO. That was most vividly illustrated by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's substantive talk with UNESCO Director-General Federico Mayor in Moscow last July.

Human civilisation now has a historical chance to fundamentally promote peace and cooperation. This chance needs to be translated into reality, and UNESCO should make its contribution. UNESCO can view the morrow with confidence, Adamishin stressed.

CPSU Aides Attend Rabat Regional Conference

PM2310103589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Departure of CPSU Representatives"]

[Text] A.Yu. Urnov, deputy head of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and V.G. Nakhodkin, senior official of the department, flew to the city of Rabat 22 October at the invitation of the leadership of the African Socialist and Democratic International to participate in a session of the organization's general council and in the international conference "Africa-Europe 1992."

United States & Canada

Sukharev Meets With Attorney General Thornburgh

PM2610153989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Meeting"]

[Text] Stressing their mutual interest in cooperation, on 16 October USSR General Prosecutor A.Ya. Sukharev and U.S. Attorney General R. Thornburgh began a working dialogue in Moscow. This, the first official visit by the U.S. minister to our country is further evidence of the expansion in Soviet-American ties favored by the climate produced by perestroyka.

Noting that the scope for joint efforts includes, in particular, humanitarian problems, the fight against the spread of drugs and terrorism, and the struggle to preserve the environment, the interlocutors exchanged information on the functions and activities of their departments and answered one another's questions.

In the course of the conversation, the guest from the United States said that he welcomes work to create a law-based state in the Soviet Union.

J. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the meeting.

Illinois Group Signs Accord on Agricultural Aid

OW2710064289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1105 GMT 26 Oct 89

[From the "World Today" program with Igor Fesunenko]

[Text] Lately, comrades, we have have been talking a lot about the need to strengthen Soviet-U.S. economic cooperation and the use of helpful U.S. experience in our economy. It looks like we have started to change from words to deeds. At least, the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE has reported that U.S. managers may manage some kolkhozes in the Soviet Union in the near future to share their positive experience. They have something to teach us; let us look truth in the face.

A trade delegation from Illinois recently visited Moscow and signed an agreement there. The idea of the agreement is, roughly, to try to increase and improve USSR agricultural production by using American methods. One of the important articles of the agreement with the RSFSR is the understanding that Illinois companies and specialists which will aid Soviet farms—meaning kolkhozes—will be paid in hard currency, but only after agricultural produce has been sold. Let as agree that this is logical. The fact that Soviet kolkhozes will share the profit given by the increase in the produce with Illinois companies is also logical.

Deputy Premier Meets General Electric Executive

PM2610145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Oct 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 19 October N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received Paul Van Orden, executive vice president of General Electric.

They discussed the state of and prospects for cooperation with Soviet organizations in various spheres of the application of new equipment and technology.

Vorotnikov Confers With Canadian Official

LD2010[illegible]4689 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—"Contacts between the Russian Federation and the Canadian province of Alberta reflect the good relations existing between the USSR and Canada, and between our peoples", Vitaliy Vorotnikov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, said during his talk today with James Horsman, vice-premier and minister for federal and inter-governmental affairs of Alberta Province.

For his part, the Canadian guest expressed profound satisfaction with his stay in the USSR and said that the visit would strengthen relations between Canada and the USSR. He recalled that joint efforts had rallied the two countries together during the Second World War. Horsman believes that this line should be continued.

Discussing cooperation between the Russian Federation and Alberta Province, the sides went on record for broader direct contacts between enterprises, organisations and firms. James Horsman noted the great interest shown by Canadian business circles in cooperation with the USSR and said that his current visit to the Soviet Union helped him to get a clearer idea of the processes going on there.

Expounding on this subject, Vitaliy Vorotnikov informed the guest on the progress of perestroyka.

The talk was informal and friendly.

Later in the day Fikryat Tabeyev, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, had a final talk with James Horsman. They agreed that the visit showed that it was possible to develop Soviet-Canadian relations and to promote contacts between Russia and Alberta Province.

Vladimir Vinogradov, foreign minister of the Russian Federation, and James Horsman signed a memorandum on mutual understanding and cooperation between the Governments of the Russian Federation and Alberta Province.

Russian Federation, Alberta Sign Memo

LD2010220189 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—The memorandum of understanding and cooperation signed today between the Governments of Russia and the Canadian province of Alberta provides new opportunities for expanding trade, investment, cultural and sports contacts, and cooperation in education and medicine, James Horsman, deputy premier of Alberta, told reporters here today.

The visit to the Soviet Union was useful, he said.

It acquainted the governmental delegation from Alberta with changes in the Soviet Union and helped it to better understand the renewal, Horsman said.

The visit also facilitated the preparation for Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's visit to the Soviet Union in the near future.

Speaking about contacts between Alberta and the Russian Federation, and the entire Soviet Union, Horsman emphasised cooperation in oil and gas extraction, agriculture and environmental protection in the Arctic.

Canada's Gen Huddleston Meets With Moiseyev

LD2310153589 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 23 TASS—Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, received today Lieutenant General David Huddleston, first deputy chief of the staff of Canadian National Defence. Huddleston arrived in the Soviet Union on a six-day visit.

During the meeting the sides discussed Soviet-Canadian military relations and prospects for their development.

Huddleston paid a working visit to Colonel General Bronislav Omelichev, first deputy chief of the General Staff.

Later in the day the Canadian guest laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Concludes Visit

LD2510165289 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 25 TASS—The talks with Soviet military leaders were held in an atmosphere of understanding and desire for learning better each other's position, said Lieutenant-General David Huddleston, first deputy chief of the Canadian National Defence Staff, at the end of his official visit to the USSR.

The Soviet and Canadian military have common views on many questions, Huddleston told TASS. He expressed hope that Soviet and Canadian military leaders will work to develop such contacts.

The general stressed that he established good relations with Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces. Such relations are important for the positive development of Soviet-Canadian military contacts, Huddleston noted.

More on Ryzhkov Message to Ottowa Arctic Meeting

PM2710085789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[Message from N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to participants in Arctic International Conference]

[Text] To the Participants in the "Strengthening USSR-Canadian Relations: Cooperation in the Arctic" International Conference

I greet the participants in the Ottawa conference gathered together on the initiative of Canadian and Soviet social organizations. Your conference, which is inspired by high ideals of friendship and fruitful international cooperation, reflects the efforts of broad sections of the public in both countries to make their contribution to strengthening trust and mutual understanding between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Canada. Such representative meetings play a significant role in the process of realizing the integrity and interdependence of today's world and help people to know and understand one another better and become actively involved in the restructuring of international relations, in line with the principles of the new political thinking, in the interests of strengthening security and peace for everyone.

I believe that your discussions will help build up multifaceted and peaceful USSR-Canadian cooperation, in which the Arctic has become an important sphere. The initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk for this part of the world are designed to deepen our cooperation in the Arctic and give it broader regional dimensions.

I would like to express the conviction that the efforts of the people's diplomacy in strengthening good-neighborliness between our countries will have a beneficial effect on the atmosphere in Soviet-Canadian relations and on the results of the upcoming Soviet-Canadian summit meeting.

I wish you success in the conference and in all your noble work.

N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

China

Chinese Premier To Visit Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh

OW2610225989 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, will pay a formal visit to Nepal. This was announced by a spokesman of the Nepalese Foreign Ministry. The visit will start on 19 November when the Chiense premier visits South Asian countries.

In addition to Nepal, Li Peng will also visit Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Military Training for Beijing Students Lengthened

PM2610091589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 October 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov report: "First Military School, Then University"]

[Text] Beijing—Eight hundred freshmen at Beijing University have started a 1-year program with military and political training in the Shijiazhuang Military Academy 500 km southwest of the capital.

The military training of freshmen is not new in Chinese higher educational institutions, but never before has it been so long. Incidentally, students at other universities and colleges will spend 8 weeks in military camps, and in some cases officers will hold classes on student campuses. In this connection a rumor went around that such a long course for Beijing University's freshmen is explained by the fact that, as RENMIN RIBAO wrote a few days ago, precisely Beijing University was the "area of serious calamity" during the spring unrest, and this measure is supposedly a kind of "punishment." Officially the State Committee for Education denied these rumors and noted that, according to the 1984 law on military service, before starting their courses students must take a course of political and military training.

In 1987 it was decided to introduce a longer course in 10 leading universities, including Beijing, but this plan was not implemented. According to the deputy chairman of the State Committee for Education, in comparison with professional training in higher educational institutions, moral and labor education was clearly lagging behind, and it is precisely military academies which have plenty of experience in these spheres, and this must be used.

The 1-year course of political and military training for Beijing University students at the academy is an experiment in the search for ways to educate students in a healthier atmosphere. The Shijiazhuang Academy, founded in 1977, trains cadres of the lowest-ranking officers and has fine modern equipment. The students will wear the same uniform as the military cadets, and one-third of study time will be devoted to special training, for which the state is allotting an additional 1,000 yuan for each student per year.

What do the freshmen themselves think of this turn of events? A sociological poll showed that most support the new system, less than 20 percent doubted its necessity, and some were worried: Won't academic studies suffer?

Studies at Beijing University began 1 and ½ months late because, officials believe, it was to a greater degree gripped by the spring unrest and more time was needed to prepare for classes. Wu Shuqing, the new rector, a 57-year-old economist who was prorector of the People's University in Beijing, noted in his first interview that the university must devote paramount attention to young people's correct political orientation.

Northeast Asia

Soviets Slow To Take Part in UN Projects in MPR

PM2610132989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 89 First Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Sapov dispatch: "UN Funds Have Been Allocated... Why Are We Not Rushing To Offer Our Assistance?"]

[Excerpts] Ulaanbaatar—[Passage omitted] Let us go to the UN Development Program [UNDP] office at 7, Eldev-Ochir Street. We were greeted by Permanent Representative Yu. Litukhin, a Soviet citizen selected on the basis of competition for this post.

I asked him about the projects being carried out in Mongolia by the United Nations. My interlocutor cited several. [passage omitted].

Twenty-six Soviet experts and consultants made a definite contribution to the implementation of 11 projects during the previous 5-year cycle of technical aid to Mongolia under the UNDP. Soviet equipment was supplied for some of the projects and training was organized for Mongolian specialists in the USSR. But on the whole Soviet organizations' participation in this sphere of international activity mainly boils down to one-shot commercial operations.

Our passivity and slowness are particularly striking in the case of the mineral pigment production unit. The shortage of these products in the USSR and other socialist countries is obvious. This was discussed at a number of conferences within the CEMA framework. And, in geologists' opinion, Mongolia has a good raw material base for the production not only of red lead but also of colored panels and construction ceramics. The production process has already been set up at a laboratory set up under a UNDP project. What could be simpler, one would have thought, than organizing an enterprise here within a short period in view of the accumulated experience. However, at present everything is being held up by the search for a subcontractor—

notwithstanding the presence of major Soviet general construction trusts in Mongolia!

Unfortunately, this is not an isolated incident. Lack of interest in UNDP projects from Mongolia's closest partners—the USSR and the other socialist countries—has prompted the Mongolian Government to turn to Western "donors" for additional aid. At the same time these projects are revealing greater opportunities for deepening economic cooperation within the CEMA framework, if only because they are based on modern progressive technologies. Without doubt, participation in implementing these projects is extremely desirable and useful for the USSR.

People at the USSR's trade mission in Mongolia agree: What can you do, we are missing the boat. They spread their hands since the trade mission's proposals on this score still exist only on paper and have not won support from high-ranking bodies. It proved possible only with great difficulty to sign a contract and supply the Mongolian Central Statistics Administration with a Soviet YeS-1045 computer under a UNDP project. And it has been simply impossible to purchase two compressors in the USSR for a baby food workshop. They have had to be bought elsewhere, at a cost of $35,000. How much paper has disappeared in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations—documents substantiating the advisability of participation by ministries and departments in these projects!

There is yet another problem. In 1987 The UN Environment Program allocated money from its ruble fund to reacclimatize the Przhevalskiy horse in Mongolia. The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology pledged to dispatch specialists to the Gobi Desert to prepare documentation. However, no progress has really been made.

Analyzing the facts, I never cease to be amazed at the activity of Western plenipotentiaries in Mongolia. For instance, learning that the "Monenzim" Science and Production Association had produced the "cytochrome-C" preparation used for treating heart disease, Japan's Nagatoshi Torn firm rapidly conducted tests in their country and offered the Mongolians a more rational technique for obtaining a pure drug along with equipment for producing it (in return, of course, for supplies of the valuable medicine). Incidentally, 1 gram of "cytochrome-C" costs $750 on the world market (!). Preliminary talks regarding the development of a joint enzyme production project have also been held with France.

Well, that is enviable speed. Would that we were as quick off the mark.

Delegate Kuzin on Hiroshima IPPNW Congress

OW2310143789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Report on interview with Mr Mikhail Kuzin, head of the Soviet delegation to the ninth congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW); date and place of the interview not given]

[Text] Listeners: The International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War held their ninth congress in Hiroshima from 7 to 12 October. Over 3,000 physicans and experts in disarmament from 73 nations, including a delegation from the Soviet Union, attended the congress. Mr Mikhail Kuzin, a noted surgeon who served as head of the Soviet delegation as well as cochairman of the movement, stated as follows in an interview:

[Kuzin is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading into Japanese translation] The Soviet delegation to the congress, which was a very large one, was made up of about 100 members, including young physicians, students, as well as representatives from the medical workers unions and the USSR-Japan Association. Among them were noted Soviet physicians, including Pokrovskiy, president of the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences, and (Mochikov), director of the Genetics Institute.

Then, Mr Kuzin spoke of the IPPNW Soviet Committee as follows:

The Soviet Committee feels very much at ease because the Soviet Government has officially stated on many occasions that it will be ready to sign the treaty on banning nuclear tests if only the West agrees to do so. We feel that the key to mankind's survival lies in suspending nuclear tests. The continuation of nuclear tests is tantamount to modernizing and improving nuclear weapons. And it will result in wasting huge amount of material and financial resources and in polluting the environment.

When all the nuclear tests conducted in the world in a year are put together, we can say that a nuclear test is conducted once every 10 days. And today, it is almost impossible to predict what results all these tests will bring about. In this connection, it is an urgent task for all the people in the world to stop all nuclear tests and abolish nuclear weapons. It is impossible for both mankind and nuclear weapons to exist simultaneously. From the viewpoint of our movement to stop arms race and to prevent nuclear wars, we have been guiding young physicians and students. As it is, the future belongs to the younger generation, and what the future world becomes depends on these people who will take our place.

Then, Mr Kuzin spoke about the membership of the IPPNW Soviet Committee as follows:

We have a total of about 70,000 activist members. This year, we had an all-union conference to talk about such topics as the results that may possibly be brought about by the use of nuclear weapons, and the influence on the people's health or living conditions that may be caused by the continuing race in military expansion. A series of regional meetings are in progress now, and preparations for meetings are now under way in the cities of Semipalantinsk and Leningrad. And a meeting is also being held in Minsk City.

Then, Mr Kuzin spoke of the congress held in Hiroshima as follows:

Every time the congress is held, great achievements have been made in the academic field. New data concerning the possible radioactive influence on human bodies were reported to the recent congress. And a presentation was made on the results of medical checks of the victims of atomic bombing in both Hiroshima and Nagasaki. At the Hiroshima sessions of the congress, discussions centered on moral and ethical factors concerning the existence and use of nuclear weapons. In addition to physicians, social activists and representatives from various religious associations also participated in the discussion. And the participants reached a conclusion that it is wrong to regard nuclear weapons as a means to save mankind from a new war. The danger involving the popularization and accidental use of nuclear weapons as well as the use of nuclear weapons for terrorist purposes will push mankind to the brink of catastrophe.

As is known, these days even conventional weapons have huge power of destruction. Even when nuclear weapons are abolished, deterrent power will not be relaxed in the least and the world will not be brought to the brink of war. However, the abolition of nuclear weapons will bring the people closer together to promote mutual understanding among the peoples of various nationalities and it will make each nation understand that no nation can have a greater guarantee for its own security at the expense of other nations.

Asked if he was visiting Japan for the first time, Mr Kuzin answered as follows:

I attended the International Surgery Society Conference held in Japan 12 years ago. Acting as vice president of the conference held in Kyoto, I was, in fact, too busy with my schedule to learn about Japan or the Japanese people. I had opportunities to visit only Tokyo and Kyoto at that time. And I had almost no free time this time, either. Fortunately, however, I myself, Pokrovskiy who is a member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and (Meliziftov), who is president of the Soviet Red Cross Society, had a chance to visit Osaka, in addition to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, at the invitation of Soka-Gakkai [a religious society that supports Japan's Komeito Party], and we also had a chance to meet Honorary President Ikeda of Soka-Gakkai. Moreover, I myself and Mr (Bernard Laun), a cardiac surgeon from Harvard University of the United States and cochairman of the IPPNW movement, received an honorary degree from Hiroshima University. It was certainly a happy event for me. And I felt very glad that the Japanese academic circles have spoken highly of this movement's activities.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. 'Concessions' on Philippine Bases

HK2510034989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Talks to determine the future of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines are scheduled to take place in Manila this December. President Corazon Aquino formally announced this to newsmen recently, saying she would name the members of the negotiating team before she leaves for the United States on 4 November.

Reports say the United States plans to retain its bases even beyond the expiration of the agreement in 1991. If reports from Washington are to be believed, the Americans are prepared to grant concessions to Manila in the form of total control of the bases.

At present the Philippines is receiving only $500 million for the military bases. According to reports in Manila newspapers, the issue of a higher rental is one of the points to be discussed. Manila is insisting that Washington pay $1 billion for its use of the bases. Washington, for its part, is insisting that it be allowed to retain its bases in exchange for financial assistance being granted to the Philippines to help pay its present foreign debt, amounting to $29 billion.

Alternatives to Philippine Foreign Debt Problem

HK2710044789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Commentary by Vassily Filipov]

[Text] The Philippine Government has suggested to its foreign creditors that its foreign debt, amounting to $29 billion, be reduced by half. This is because more than 5 percent of the government's export profits are being used to pay the interest on its foreign debt, instead of helping to boost the country's economy.

The need to import traditional products and raw materials causes the Philippines to go deeper into debt because prices of imported items are constantly rising. Hence the country's economic programs cannot meet the people's needs, so the standard of living continues to decline. According to official statistics, more than half of the population lives beneath the poverty line.

Meanwhile, proposals that the government take on new loans would mean an additional burden on the country, further depressing its economy and inflating its debts. Recently the chief of the Central Bank of the Philippines, Jose Fernandez, declared the country's readiness to settle half of its obligations to the commercial banks on a long- and short-term basis. For each dollar borrowed, the Philippine Government is prepared to pay 50 cents, which means that it is pledged to pay $1.3 billion. This means that the Philippine Government will pay only the equivalent of $650 million.

According to the MANILA TIMES, however, the country is in no position to fulfill this obligation. The government would have to obtain this amount from the International Monetary Bank, the World Bank, and Japan. This would mean yet another loan which, in truth, the IMF is not disposed to grant unless old loans are settled. That international organization has admitted that its total loans of $3 trillion to the developing countries look likely to remain unpaid. And now, in response to the Philippine proposal that commercial banks redeem half their loans, it is interesting to see what the reaction to that will be.

There have been reports that some banks have agreed to this proposal. However, the MANILA TIMES says that before this was proposed by the Philippine Government, a go-ahead signal was obtained from Washington. There may be some truth to this.

The future of the U.S. military bases, whose treaty is due to expire soon, may be one of the issues which is muddling the thinking of people in Washington. On the proposal for the redemption of half of the Philippines' foreign debt, such a compromise would leave unresolved the $1.3 billion which, according to Fernandez, is only a small part of the country's total debt.

Meanwhile Manila continues to count on the promised financial assistance from the developed countries and international economic organizations, which is sometimes called the Marshall Plan. However it is not clear whether this means increased trade with the countries offering aid to the Philippines, on an equal basis, to help stabilize the Philippine economy. The plan calls for Manila to submit programs showing how the funds will be utilized which will benefit the donor countries. Also in the plan is a proviso calling for the private sector to make investments, but these are seen as likely to have a negative effect on the government. How such aid loans will be paid remains unclear.

In truth, the financial assistance from the United States and Japan, which is being called the key to retaining democracy in the Philippines, is obviously a weapon by which political pressure can be exerted.

So what is the way out of this muddle? There are alternatives which the developed countries can take to get out of the foreign debt trap. It is the Soviet Union's belief that there should be a moratorium of up to 100 years for debt payments. If this is possible, then these debts could even be forgiven. Furthermore, the payment of principal debts could then be restricted, depending on a country's economic growth, or a longer period given for repayment.

In this connection, an international institution could be established which would allow the discount redemption of debts to further help the developing countries. Proposals for such a program have met with support from members of the International Forum of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. This agency has called for the reduction of debt repayment to the commercial banks. This issue was one of those discussed during the recent conference of the Nonaligned Movement in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, which looked into the needs of the developing nations.

Near East & South Asia

TASS Reports on Najibullah 26 Oct Speech

LD2610170189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Kabul, 26 Oct (TASS)—The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan have totally fulfilled the commitments they undertook in Geneva, Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee and president of the Republic of Afghanistan, stated at a plenum of the PDPA Central Committee here. The Afghan people believed that with the withdrawal of Soviet troops peace would come to the country, but the situation has started to develop in the opposite direction, he noted.

Openly flouting the Geneva agreements, the Afghan leader continued, Pakistan and the United States continue to train and infiltrate opposition formations onto the territory of the republic, while major consignments of the most modern weapons stream uninterruptedly across the Pakistan-Afghan border, and units of the Armed Forces of Pakistan and mercenaries from Saudi Arabia and other countries take part in combat operations against the Afghan army. The war against the Republic of Afghanistan by the extremists and their foreign patrons is assuming a new and greater scope.

The experience of the 8 months since the withdrawal of Soviet troops shows that during that time the correct decisions have been made to help mobilize the party and people to secure peace in the present conditions. A state of emergency was declared in the country to defend independence and territorial integrity and to fight aggression and sabotage, the combat readiness and equipment of the Afghan armed forces were enhanced, and they were reinforced with thousands of party members, self-defense groups, and tribal and territorial troops. All this is natural—the combat operations of the opposition have assumed a huge scale. In this period, Najibullah said, more than 4 million artillery shells and rockets were fired at towns, villages, and Afghan troop positions, and 300 cases of mining and bombing were recorded. As a result, 2,528 civilians were killed, 5,565 were wounded, and 32 mosques, 860 stores, and 4,002 residential buildings were destroyed.

On the question of coalition rule, the PDPA Central Committee general secretary noted that at present much work is being done to expand and create its basis both locally and at government level. There has been a reduction in the points of conflict between the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and a number of opposition formations, and a number of points of contact have appeared between them. Coalition bodies of power now exist in 47 administrative units, where more than 1,500 villages are located. Twenty-seven districts and more than 1,800 villages have been declared peace zones.

In connection with the economic problems Najibullah pointed out that the changed military-political situation in the country and inattention to the needs of its economic development have exacerbated the situation in this sphere, which has had a negative effect on people's living conditions. Urgent measures are needed to provide the population with stores of food and fuel.

To rebuild and develop Afghanistan's economy it is necessary to preserve and strengthen economic relations with the USSR, and to actively attract foreign capital. An important task is the provision of comprehensive aid to national businessmen. The Afghan Government should make the most rational use of economic aid coming into the country via the United Nations.

Dwelling on questions of party construction, Najibullah stressed the PDPA is not a ruling party but acts in close contact with the block of left democratic parties. In conditions of the pluralist system, the PDPA should by no means dictate or apply pressure to state bodies and other parties. Its tasks comprise only the coordination of the activity of all forces guided by all-national interests.

Speaking of topical questions of intraparty life, the PDPA Central Committee general secretary pointed out that under the conditions of the continued and undeclared war against the Republic of Afghanistan by a number of states, the most important issue is to ensure within party ranks the observance of the norms of party life by all members. The party should shake off the negative phenomena which appeared in the past and which sometimes still occur. The time has come, Najibullah continued, in keeping with the new conditions of coalition-mindedness, which is the main instrument for restoring peace and unity in Afghanistan, to think about making amendments to the action program of the PDPA to make it conform with the requirements of today.

The Afghan leader dwelled in detail on questions of international politics. In particular, he noted that positive changes in international relations had made manifest the possibility of settling a number of regional problems, including the Namibian, Angolan, Nicaraguan, and Afghan problems. The joint Soviet-U.S. statement, issued after the meeting of the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state, makes it possible to hope for further searches for new political ways to solve the Afghan problem. That document has become a good basis for continuing talks on the basis of national reconciliation and recognition of the Republic of Afghanistan as an independent and nonaligned state.

Having dwelled on the development of relations with neighboring states, the Afghan leader stressed the fraternal and unselfish nature of links with the Soviet Union. He noted that economic and other help from the USSR allows the Afghan state to independently defend itself from aggression and interference in its internal affairs. Najibullah ascertained an improvement in Afghan-Iranian relations and a development in the traditional friendly relations with India and expressed hope for an improvement in and expansion of relations with China.

Relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan, Najibullah said, remain tense because of the unceasing aggression against the sovereign state implemented from Pakistani territory. However, we hope that the Pakistani people will in the final analysis force the instigators of war to renounce the unconstructive policies conducted by them in relation to the Republic of Afghanistan.

Having stressed the progressive nature of the development of the PDPA's interparty links, Najibullah noted that at the present it maintains relations with 160 parties and political organizations, and agreements on cooperation have been signed with 80 of them.

Polyakov Receives PFLP'S Habash 19 Oct

LD1910121189 Kuwait KUNA in English
1040 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 19 (KUNA)—Secretary General of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP] Dr. George Habash met here today with Mideast and North Africa Director at the Soviet Foreign Ministry Vladimir Polyakov.

Reliable sources told KUNA Polyakov stressed the importance of the continuation of the Uprising and the Soviet supportive stand for the Palestinian people's right to statehood through an international conference on the Mideast.

Polyakov said Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze discussed during his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker the importance of the PLO participation in Mideast peace efforts.

He said that the Israeli Likud bloc led by Shamir is the most intransigent force in Israel and Labor Leader Shiman Peres has no full plan for the settlement.

Habash underlined the need for escalating the uprising in the occupied land against the Israeli occupation and the importance of civil disobedience and political protection of the Intifadah.

The Palestinian leader reiterated rejection of Shamir's plan, Egyptian 10-point proposals and Baker's plan and called on the Arab leaders to put pressure on the United States to accept Palestinian legitimate rights and to stop its absolute support to Israel.

PLO Delegation in Moscow for Committee Meetings

JN2210102489 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic
20 Oct 89 p 25

[By Fathi al-Barqawi from Moscow]

[Text] Palestinian-Soviet talks, described by responsible PLO sources as important, will begin in Moscow today, Friday. The sources indicated that a Palestinian delegation led by PLO Executive Committee member Mahmud 'Abbas, also known as Abu-Mazin, and comprising Mahmud Darwish and Nabil 'Amr arrived in Moscow 2 days ago to take part in meetings of the Joint Palestinian-Soviet Coordination Committee in which the Soviet delegation will be headed by Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The sources pointed out that this meeting will tackle a number of issues concerning the Palestine question in light of the current developments witnessed in the region during the past 2 weeks.

The same sources indicated that the recent U.S. plan proposed by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and the PLO's declared position on this plan will be one of the topics on the agenda of the Palestinian-USSR talks. Special emphasis will be laid on the five principles [contained in the final statement of the PLO Central Council] which reject the formation, naming, or announcement of the composition of a Palestinian delegation by any party other than the PLO, the sources added. These principles also reflect the Palestinians' determination to have the right to make remarks and ask questions. They also stipulate that the Palestinians will only present the Palestinian initiative announced in Algiers and Geneva. These principles, moreover, state that the Palestinian-Israeli talks must pave the way for the convening of an international conference.

The Palestinian-Soviet Committee will also discuss the results of the PLO Central Council meetings recently held in Baghdad, the Iraqi capital, during which the PLO rejected Baker's proposal and described it as a bid to revive the Shamir plan, which calls for holding elections in the occupied territories.

Within the framework of bilateral coordination, the Palestinian and Soviet delegations will discuss the results of the PLO's contacts on the proposed plans, especially the outcome of the visit to Cairo on Friday [13 October] by a Palestinian delegation comprising Mahmud 'Abbas and Yasir 'Abd-Rabbuh.

The sources voiced the belief that the Palestinian and Soviet sides will draw up a conception for the upcoming phase to counter the Israeli-U.S. role represented by an attempt to obscure the PLO's role, through the failure to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and proposing plans designed to waste time and quell the intifadah.

The same sources added that the results of the Moscow meetings which are expected to be concluded tomorrow, Saturday, will be submitted to a meeting of the Fatah Central Committee scheduled to be held on 25 October. Moreover, the PLO Executive Committee will discuss the results of these meetings in its next meeting. It is to be recalled that the Palestinian-Soviet Joint Committee has held four meetings since it was formed almost 1 year ago.

Polyakov Confers With PLO's Mahmud 'Abbas

JN2410210889 Baghdad Voice of the PLO in Arabic 1920 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] A 3-hour meeting took place in Moscow between Brother Abu-Mazin [Mahmud 'Abbas], member of the PLO Executive Committee, and Comrade Vladimir Polyakov, chief of the Near Eastern and North African Countries Administration at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, within the framework of joint Palestinian-Soviet coordination.

During the meeting the two sides discussed all efforts and moves aimed at launching the peace process in the Middle East, as well as Palestinian-Soviet coordination on these efforts. They asserted the importance of joint action to convene an international conference for peace as a major framework for a solution. They also stressed the PLO's major role in the peace process as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Brother Abu-Mazin reviewed the results of the PLO Central Council meetings in Baghdad and its statement in which the PLO stressed its basic stands in light of the Palestinian National Council and Arab summit resolutions as well as the Palestinian peace initiatives. The Soviet side reviewed the Soviet Union's official stand, which agrees with the Palestinian and Arab stands.

A meeting will be held within the next few days between Brother Abu-Mazin and Comrade Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister, to complete the meetings of the joint Palestinian-Soviet committee.

Economic Cooperation Talks With Iranian Officials

LD2410184889 Tehran IRNA in English 1345 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 24, IRNA—All legal formalities relevant to the protocols of Tehran-Moscow economic cooperation until the year 2000 will be worked out in the next two months, Iran's ambassador to Moscow announced Monday.

Naser Heyrani-Nobari said ranking economic delegations from the two countries are to meet in Tehran to settle the formalities. The protocols were signed between the two countries during a visit of Hojjat ol-Eslam Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to Moscow last June.

Nobari made the remarks after his lengthy talks with Soviet Minister of Railways Nikolay Konarev, who also represents his country in the joint economic commission with Iran. 'The contents of the agreements will be implemented as soon as the protocols were finalised,' he added.

Referring to the drls.-6-billion volume of the protocols, Nobari said mutual cooperation mostly include the putting into operation of basic industries like machine building factories, steel production, expansion of power generator units and bilateral cooperation on atomic energy.

He said the two countries have decided to expand cooperation in the fields of land, sea and air communications as well as better use of marine resources of the Caspian Sea.

Soviet ministers of foreign economic relations, heavy machine building, and railways are to head separate delegations to Iran in this regard.

Iraqi Civil Defense Officials Meet in Moscow

JN2410104289 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0830 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 Oct (INA)—Army General Vladimir Govorov, deputy defense minister for civil defense, met here yesterday with 'Imad Shabib, director general of civil defense in Iraq, who is currently visiting the Soviet Union.

The meeting dealt with relations of cooperation between civil defense apparatuses in both countries and means of bolstering these relations.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Vorontsov Holds Talks With Ethiopia's Mengistu

LD2610144389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary general of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, has received the special representative of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Vorontsov, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR first deputy foreign minister. Vorontsov was there on 25-26 October and conveyed a message from the Soviet leader. There was a thorough and comradely exchange of opinions on the situation in Ethopia and on ways to regulate it. The Soviet side expressed complete support for the course which has been proclaimed by the National Assembly of Ethiopia for ending the war, political dialogue with all opposition forces, and for a peaceful solution of internal problems in the interests of the whole Ethiopian people.

Adamishin Views Possible Role in S. Africa Talks

MB2510190589 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 25 Oct 89

[From the "Focus on Africa" Program]

[Text] The Soviet Union has traditionally been regarded as something of a bogeyman by South Africa's rulers, but things are changing in that respect as in so many other things. Today, the South African Broadcasting Corporation said in a commentary that the Soviet Union could play an important role in helping to initiate talks between the government and the African National Congress, ANC. Well, Soviet Union's Deputy Anatoliy Adamishin is in Paris at the moment. On the line, Julian Marshall asked him if the Soviet Union was prepared to help.

[Begin recording] [Adamishin] First, we are, the Soviet Union is, for peaceful solution of the South African conflict by negotiations. We realize it is not simple task, but it is the only way it can be settled. We don't want bloodshed and we don't want further troubles.

The second point, if there is need of negotiations, certainly, we may contribute to the fact that these negotiations would start. But it is necessary that both parties ask us about it. For the time being, maybe—I am 2 or 3 days out of Moscow, so I, maybe, can't follow the most recent events. We didn't get any suggestion on this point; but if it happens, then I think we may play a constructive role.

[Marshall] Are you in fact prepared to take the initiative on this matter? Are you prepared to adopt a more interventionist role?

[Adamishin] You know, both parties know about our (?disponibility) of playing this role. So, if they really want negotiations—and I am sure that ANC wants it; I am not quite sure that the other party wants it— and if they are going to have negotiations, and if they think it would be useful for both of them to have our efforts, our contribution, we are ready to do it.

[Marshall] The South Africans seem to be under the impression that the Soviet Union is the only major power with any influence over the ANC. How do you respond to that?

[Adamishin] You see, we are friends with the ANC and we have been in contact for the last 20 or 30 years, if not more, but it doesn't mean that we can advise ANC what they have to do. They quite autonomous on this point, but we know their position and their position is for peaceful settlement, for talks with Pretoria authorities. So, if Pretoria authorities would be ready to talk, I repeat, we may, if asked, have our contribution.

[Marshall] But could I put it to you, Mr Adamishin, that the Soviet Union could withdraw military support to the ANC...

[Adamishin, interrupting] Well, it is another thing, as you understand. It concerns our relations with the ANC and I don't think it interferes with the methods of negotiations. Certainly, the things can change and if there is a really constructive will from the part of South African authorities toward the abolishment of emergency state, release of the political prisoners, and so on, it may look in different light the question of military supply and other forms of our support to ANC. [end recording]

Mozambique Army Delegation Visits; Sees Yazov

PM2610140389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers of the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Mozambique headed by Major General Silva Nikhiya [name as published], member of the Mozambique Liberation Front Party Central Committee Politburo, deputy defense minister, and national political commissar of the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Mozambique, visited the Soviet Union 14 through 24 October at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense. Questions of mutual interest were discussed during the friendly talks that took place.

The Mozambican guests had a meeting with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate

At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate the delegation members were familiarized with experience of organizing political educational work in the Soviet Armed Forces. The delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Military-Political Academy.

East Europe

Shevardnadze Winds Up Visit to Poland

Meeting With USSR Mission

LD2610224289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1810 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign affairs minister took part in a sitting of the council under the USSR ambassador to the Polish People's Republic. There was an exchange of opinions on certain matters [predmetniy obmen mneniyami] with members of the council—workers in the embassy, trade representatives, consulate generals and other Soviet institutions in the Polish People's Republic—on the tasks of the further development and deepening of Soviet-Polish cooperation at the present stage.

E.A. Shevardnadze stressed the need to increase the efficiency of the Soviet representatives, including through their closer coordination. Now a persistent search for, and implementation of, new approaches and of non-traditional forms of work to develop mutually advantageous links in various spheres, and to strengthen the allies interrelations in the interests of both countries, are needed.

Departure From Poland

LD2710120889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0948 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Oct (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR foreign minister, took part in a sitting of the USSR's Polish People's Republic Ambassador's Council.

A specific exchange of views took place with the members of the council, the Embassy staff, those employed in the trade mission, general consulates, and other Soviet establishments in the Polish People's Republic concerning the tasks of improving and deepening further the Soviet-Polish cooperation at the present stage.

E.A. Shevardnadze emphasized the need to enhance the effectiveness of the work of the Soviet establishments. This can be done, among other things, through having it coordinated more closely. What is required now is a persistent search for, and implementation of new approaches and nontraditional forms of work to develop mutually advantageous ties in various areas and to strengthen the mutual relations as allies in the mutual interests.

Also today E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister, who has been in Poland on a working visit and who has taken part in the work of a sitting of the Warsaw Treaty member states' foreign ministers committee left Warsaw for Moscow.

He was seen off at the airport by K. Skubiszewski, Polish Peoples Republic foreign minister, and other officials. V.I. Brovikov, the USSR's ambassador to the PPR, was among the seeing-off party.

Comparison of Joint Communique

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 27 October 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 the "Soviet-Polish Communique" issued during E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Poland on 24-25 October. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Soviet-Polish Communique," has been compared with the Moscow TASS International Russian version published in the 26 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT on page 20 under the headline "Meetings Summarized," revealing the following variations:

Page 20, column one, paragraph one, sentence two reads in PRAVDA: ...the importance of preserving and multiplying everything... (retranslating)

Same column, paragraph three, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...strengthen friendship and good neighborliness between the Soviet... (retranslating)

Paragraph four, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: E.A. Shevardnadze provided detailed information about the... (adding "detailled")

Paragraph six, only sentence, through paragraph seven, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...linked with the affirmation in international relations of the new political thinking and the priority of values common to all mankind and with the strengthening of a rule-of-law system.

The sides were... (retranslating)

Same paragraph, last sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...the ABM Treaty confirm the reality of... (retranslating)

Paragraph nine, first sentence reads in PRAVDA: ...ministers stated a coincidence of views of... (retranslating)

PZPR's Krol on Polish Political Contest

PM2310131189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Marek Krol, secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and Polish Sejm deputy, by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent I. Nekrasov and J. Cichocki of the Polish INTERPRESS agency: "A Period of Ordeals"]

[Text] Warsaw-Moscow—[Correspondents] A great deal is being said at the moment about different tendencies in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], each with its own view of party strategy and tactics. What is your assessment of this phenomenon?

[Krol] I would not exaggerate the significance of platforms or movements. Although they play an important part, they cannot resolve all the problems themselves. The party's chief task today is to consider questions relating to the very roots of the workers movement and the idea that underlies it. Whose interests and what groups of the population, classes, or public circles does the party represent? In the PZPR we have members of the most diverse professions and classes. Various interests also lie at the root of the political struggle currently under way in the country. Ought not the creation of a new party formula to start with an answer to this question?

It is important that the party should not in the future be caught unawares by changes in society. The program of structural changes in the economy, which the new government wants to implement, will also bring about changes in Polish society, particularly in our party base. I mean the working class and intelligentsia. One should also anticipate the consequences that could result from possible temporary unemployment. It is worth noting that the last plenum proposed that the party should create its own economic program, so that we do not merely become critics of government initiatives such as "Solidarity" was in relation to us. We believe that we will recover our influence in the country's leadership. Therefore we need a clear-cut action program.

[Correspondents] In your opinion, what will the party of Polish left-wing forces and Poland as a whole be like at the end of the century?

[Krol] It is difficult to forecast the future development of the situation in Poland. This exceedingly difficult question should be looked at in two ways, which, together, will determine the country's future. The first is the highly developed perception of socialist ideals in the Polish consciousness. The vast majority of the people, more than 90 percent, I believe, acknowledge all that the party created in establishing the new system after World War II. The second aspect is the economic situation in the country, which has so far prevented many of those ideals from being realized. Because of low labor productivity and the catastrophic state of the economy, the noble slogans of socialism come into conflict with reality. I believe that these two factors will have a decisive influence in determining the new form of socialism in Poland.

If the economic situation remains at the present level or—even worse—the crisis deepens, that could lead to the formation of right-wing forces and groups of advocates of primitive populism and cause the entire process of building a socialist parliamentary democracy in Poland to collapse, and this would put us back many years. This worst-case scenario is also something we have to take into account in our forecasts.

When assessing the situation in Poland one has to be realistic. I firmly believe that we do not yet have a party of the ordinary man, which cannot only deal with global issues but also work continuously on the solution of working people's daily problems. The PZPR must be that party.

[Correspondents] What kind of relationship will the party have with its former allies in the government coalition—the United Peasant and Democratic Parties? What kind of relationship would you like to see? What new elements will there be in links with the country's trade unions and socialist youth leagues?

[Krol] This is the second question that makes one ponder the future of the party. We used to think that we were the ruling party and had a monopoly on important decisions, and, therefore, often saw the coalition parties and other structures as auxiliary forces. This concept is out of date. We must keep on telling ourselves that in the future the party will not be able to run the country alone. It has to seek allies and really get them involved in joint activity at all levels.

When forming a coalition, one has first to be ready to be more flexible. It may be that we will be in a coalition with one group in one election and with another group in another election.

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that the political landscape in Poland is constantly changing. There is a real possibility that new left-wing parties will appear, particularly after the adoption of the law on parties. In the PZPR leadership at the moment we are holding discussions and debates with groupings which could turn into independent political forces.

At various meetings I have put forward the idea that we must be a party waging a struggle for allies everywhere, including "Solidarity," in which there are so many workers whom one cannot blame for not being among our ranks. In fact, they are our potential base. I dream of a situation where the secretary of a plant committee will be an independent politician with responsibility for implementing the main trends of the entire front of left-wing forces.

[Correspondents] This will necessitate the emergence of new forms of party life and the demolition of old cliches. What new forms of work would the party circles, particularly young members, be likely to approve?

The impression is that the formula of a bureaucratized party still holds sway with us. I believe it is very important for us to get away from the old party formulas and structures. A successful plenum or party bureau session can be held in the form of a club meeting or in the open air. A table underneath a green bough is by no means compulsory. To create a public perception of our party it is particularly important to abandon the model in which the leadership speaks and the rest listen. As for new forms of party life, it is not for the center to invent them and then pass them down to the "lower strata" in the form of instructions; the members themselves, particularly young people, should be coming up with new, original ideas.

In order to change the party stereotype as perceived by the people, you have to change the entire party ambience and our slogans and placards on buildings, particularly as no one reads them any more.

[Correspondents] This year's elections demonstrated that by no means all Poles were interested in the country's political life—many did not turn out to vote. How does the party intend to fight for the votes of the "silent majority" in the next election, in 4 years' time? What should the strategy be?—after all, the work really should be started today, rather than tomorrow.

[Krol] All that we are doing in the party today is in fact pursuing an election campaign. We cannot start by solving intraparty problems and then move on to a second stage in which we prepare for elections. Particularly when you consider elections to local self-management bodies are due first. If the results in them are the same as in the parliamentary election, the party could well disappear from the public consciousness.

[Correspondents] As is known, "Solidarity" representative Andrzej Drawicz has been appointed chairman of the Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. How will the party media operate in the new conditions, in which the former opposition is playing the leading role in the country's leadership?

[Krol] A. Drawicz's appointment is a consequence of the political changes in Poland. Radio, television, the PAP agency, the newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA are government organs, that is, Premier Mazowiecki's office automatically takes charge of them.

Our party has charge of the newspaper and periodicals published by the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" party cooperative. In short, competition of a kind has been established, which forces us to change our concept of party information and propaganda, in order to be closer to the people. But I have the impression that we sometimes underestimate ourselves. For some years now we have had party publications that meet the demands of modern journalism. This intellectual component of the party, associated with the traditions of the left-wing movement and socialist forces, must be protected and more vigorously exploited. Perhaps you have noticed that for a number of years the party press has been printing articles representing various, often opposition, viewpoints. So anyone who says that the party has a media monopoly is wrong. But we do not feel that we have been driven into a corner. Moreover it will benefit us to be deprived of the opportunity to misuse television and—for example, during congresses—print articles and documents in all the newspapers. Political competition in the press will force us to look for interesting forms of journalism and raise the intellectual standard of ours.

Attacks on USSR in Hungary's Press Criticized

PM2610210389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Oct 89 First Edition p 5

[A. Kondrashov "Rejoinder": "When Glasnost Knows No Limits"]

[Text] It is obviously regrettable that it has to be said that the rapid course of the Hungarian reforms is making the water turbid. How else can you describe the fact that the majority of the opposition rallies organized on 23 October were accompanied by chants of "Russians go home." This abuse directed at a friendly ally can scarcely be said to conform to the plan to celebrate the tragic events of 1956 as a day of national reconciliation and concord.

But it is not just a question of irresponsible attempts to portray the Soviet troops—who are in Hungary solely to offset NATO forces in Europe—as an occupying force. This goes counter to the very fact that a process of reduction and withdrawal of Soviet units and subunits from the country is taking place in tandem with the deepening of the reform process in Hungary. It is something else: A desire to cast aspersions on relations between our countries, to arouse in the populace feelings of enmity and hostility toward the USSR.

Recently, opposition or "independent" newspapers have published a number of materials actually distorting historical facts. In September the Budapest paper DATUM told a blood-curdling story about the destruction of the Transcarpathian village of Velikaya Dobron, populated by Hungarians, in July 1946 by Soviet troops using napalm. There were angry reactions from villagers, elderly residents in the Uzhgorod paper OGNI KOMMUNIZMA. Some were restrained, calling the DATUM article a "fable"; others called it "a downright lie."

Obviously the same epithets should be applied to a more recent article by someone called Bogdan in the paper NAPLO, the former publication of the Hajdu-Bihar Megye Committee, which now says it is independent.

In it the author tries to blame the Soviet Union for all the tragic chapters in Hungarian history. For instance, the burden of the Trianon Peace Treaty, imposed on Hungary in 1920 by the Entente powers, is explained by the fact that "the Soviet Union (the accuracy of this term gives you an idea of the depth of the author's historical knowledge) inspired the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Republic and in so doing aggravated the onerous terms of the Trianon Treaty."

Invasion, occupation, annexation—these are the words used to describe the Red Army's actions in 1944-45, whereas the Horthy and Nyilasi regimes are portrayed as victims of aggression. But how can you erase from the peoples' memory, including that of the Hungarian people, the fact that Horthyist Hungary was the aggressor, having joined fascist Germany in attacking the Soviet Union and having sent its forces to the banks of the Don and the Volga?

But the direct territorial claims on the USSR are perhaps the most bewildering thing. The Transcarpathian area, the author writes, has never been the sovereign territory of either Czarist Russia or the USSR; for 1,000 years it belonged to the Hungarian state. A little further on, he demands, along with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, their withdrawal from the "territory of the Transcarpathian area, along with the Soviet Russians and Ukrainians who migrated there, and the return of the territory to the Hungarians."

Presumably grounds such as these, that particular lands once belonged to Hungary, and the claims that stem from them will make the people of Hungary's other neighbors think, as well those of the Soviet Union. In fact, at various stages in history Slovakia, Croatia, and Transylvania belonged to Hungary, when it was in the Habsburg Empire.

But, continuing this historical approach, you could say that a little over 1,000 years ago there were no Hungarians at all in Europe. Or, at least, that in the 12th Century the borders of the Galicia-Volhynia Principality of Rus extended much further west than the present state borders of the USSR. As for the Transcarpathian area, it must be said, however, that for 2 decades before the war the region belonged to Czechoslovakia and was seized by Hungary as a consequence of the Munich diktat, which made Czechoslovakia easy meat for Hitler and his allies. It also must be remembered that it became part of the Czechoslovak state against the will of the majority of its population, which sought reunification with the Soviet Ukraine, and its official name at the time was Transcarpathian Rus.

But you wonder whether the peoples want to be settling historical scores right now, particularly revising treaties and borders, which is what the writer wants. Above all, the peoples of Hungary and the Soviet Union, whose relations have been typified for some decades by feelings of friendship, mutual affection, and respect.

Of course, we might have chosen not to focus attention on individual appeals and irresponsible articles, seeing them as the price to be paid pay for a process of reforms and glasnost. But it is my belief that glasnost, too, must have limits, first and foremost limits that coincide with the limits of competence and common sense, and in the second place ones that respect state borders.

Leadership Congratulates CSSR on Anniversary

LD2710155789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1427 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 October (TASS)—The CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers conveyed friendly congratulations and best wishes to CSSR leaders Milos Jakes, Gutav Husak, and Ladislav Adamec and to all the people of the country on the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the proclamation of the Czechoslovak Republic. "The creation of a sovereign state was a progessive step," the congratulatory telegram published here today notes. "The dream of the Czechs and Slovaks of liberty, independence, and the revival of their national dignity began to be realized."

The telegram stresses that Soviet people value their relations with Czechoslovakia, their loyal ally and reliable friend, and wish their Czech and Slovak brothers success in improving socialism further.

Ceausescu Call for Socialist Conference Cited

PM2610111389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Oct—Various theses and concepts about socialist building and the prospects for socialism are currently widespread in a number of socialist countries. At the same time, reactionary anticommunist circles striving to destabilize the situation in these countries have stepped up their activities. This was stated by N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], at an enlarged RCP Central Committee plenum here. This situation, he pointed out, makes it necessary to give theoretical replies to the questions that arise, and to arm the party and the people with a correct understanding of socioeconomic realities and the principles of scientific socialism.

On the whole, the socialist countries have achieved great successes and socialism has demonstrated its superiority. However, the establishment of worker-peasant power has merely marked the start of socialist building. There is no doubt that in underdeveloped states such as Romania used to be, the building of socialism will take a long time and demand great effort and selflessness.

It is claimed in certain countries that socialism has produced results that are not so good, that a different path of development must be sought. Essentially this means capitulating in the face of difficulties, the Romanian leader stressed. We must rebuff the so-called "market economy" theories. Some countries which are embarking on this path are encountering inflation, increased speculation, and reduced living standards. At the same time, these countries are taking measures which weaken socialism's positions and open the way to a restoration of capitalism.

Bearing in mind the importance of the problems of socialist development, we consider it necessary to convene an extensive conference of representatives of all countries building socialism or advocating the socialist path of development, in order to discuss the experience that has been accumulated and to draw the relevant conclusions, N. Ceausescu stressed.

The discussions under way in certain socialist countries on limiting or even rejecting the party's leading role could do great harm to the unity of the working class, the people, and socialist building. The party does not and cannot replace state organs, but at the same time it cannot avoid its responsibilities either. It is no accident that imperialist circles are striving to undermine the unity of the workers' movement and, in particular, of communist parties.

The speaker advocated the development of ties within the CEMA framework and the improvement of that organization's activity. However, this should not lead to the creation of supranational organs or diminish the role of parties, states, and peoples in their socioeconomic development. Bearing in mind the economic difficulties in certain socialist countries, N. Ceausescu advocated a joint search for ways of overcoming these difficulties and continuing socialist building.

Yazov Greets Romania's Milea on Army Jubilee

PM2610082589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Oct 89 First Edition p1

[Undated message from USSR Defense Minister D.T. Yazov to Romanian National Defense Minister Vasile Milea]

[Text] To Comrade Colonel General Vasile Milea, National Defense Minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Esteemed Comrade Minister!

On behalf of the USSR Armed Forces and myself, I congratulate you on the 45th anniversary of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Soviet servicemen are confident that the close bonds of friendship and cooperation which traditionally link our countries and armies will continue to develop and improve for the good of the Soviet and Romanian peoples and the entire socialist community.

On this important day, I wish all Romanian Army personnel new successes in their military labor to strengthen the defense capability and security of their motherland and the Warsaw Pact states.

[Signed] Army General D. Yazov, USSR Defense Minister.

Krenz Talk With FDP Politician Noted

PM2610145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "From Constructive Positions"]

[Text] Berlin, 25 Oct—A meeting took place today in the GDR capital between E. Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, and W. Mischnick, chairman of the Free Democratic Party group in the FRG Bundestag.

E. Krenz informed his guest about the results of the Ninth SED Central Committee Plenum, at which a realistic assessment was made of the situation in the GDR. The incipient changes aim to do everything for the good of the people. The proposed reforms are above all a matter of increasing the efficiency of the economy and also broadening opportunities for the working people to exercise power in their elected urban and rural people's representative bodies. Life confirms that socialist democracy is also vitally necessary in the GDR. All this will enable socialism on German soil to become stronger and more attractive. When people in the West make recommendations saying that we should effect reforms calling the socialist social system into question, such proposals will have no chance of being realized in the future, E. Krenz stressed.

As for bilateral GDR-FRG relations, it must be a question of strengthening the policy which stands for peaceful coexistence between two states with different social systems and values. In the interests of the future common European home we must firmly adhere to the idea that fascism and war must never again arise from German soil, the GDR leader said. In this connection he emphasized that people in the GDR are extremely concerned at the emergence of neo-Nazi and revanchist forces observed in the FRG.

The GDR is an independent sovereign state in the heart of Europe, with its own 40-year history. Each of the two German states, as is customary throughout the world, is responsible for its own territory and its own citizens. The GDR advocates the right to free movement and the right to live anywhere, while observing one another's sovereignty.

In conclusion E. Krenz voiced the expectation that the FRG will also eliminate certain obstacles. Its insistence on the right to be a "refuge for all Germans" is incompatible with the right to self-determination and a free choice of social system.

W. Mischnick noted that he is watching the development of recent events in the GDR with great interest. He agreed in many respects with what E. Krenz said at the meeting. In particular, with the idea that the fact that peace must stem from German soil is still the most important thing; nor is the need to observe the signed treaties in doubt. As before, Mischnick advocated close cooperation between both German states.

GDR Leaders Talk With Demonstrators

PM2610125189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent I. Osinskiy "Letter From Berlin," especially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Dialogue About the Future"]

[Text] Last Saturday I participated in an event which would have been simply unimaginable here in the GDR just a few days ago.

Leaflets began to be passed from hand to hand in the afternoon at Alexanderplatz, the city residents' favorite recreation spot. People scanned them with curiosity and passed them on. The anonymous author called on young people to go to a rally outside the People's Chamber. Indeed, a crowd of a few thousand persons soon gathered there.

Actually, people here are already accustomed to such spontaneous expressions of feelings. Numerous unauthorized rallies were held in the republic on the eve of the celebration of the GDR's jubilee 40th anniversary and afterwards.

Who knows how the rally outside the People's Chamber would have ended had Guenter Schabowski, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Berlin Bezirk party committee, the capital's Mayor Erhard Krack, and other city leaders not gone out into the square to meet the young people. They received a rather unfriendly welcome.

"Why have you come here?" voices from the crowd could be heard to say.

"To have a frank conversation with you and to make joint efforts to avoid an unnecessary confrontation. Are you not interested in this yourselves?" G. Schabowski replied.

I cannot say that the ensuing conversation was calm from the very start. There were some quite malicious shouts and questions with provocative implications. Nonetheless, they no longer determined the atmosphere at the meeting.

Let me single out just two of the numerous topics which were raised during this spontaneous dialogue and perturb many people in the GDR today.

Will there be full freedom to travel outside the country?

This is a complex, a very complex question for the socialist German state. As the SED Central Committee October plenum noted, more than 100,000 people have left the country in the last few months alone. Mainly young, skilled specialists. Their lives could not be described as failures—virtually all of them had jobs they liked, earning quite good wages and living in well appointed apartments. They could not have complained about any lack of prospects. But they all "voted with their feet" for life in the West.

The sobering-up process is increasingly noticeable with each passing day. Even Western mass media admit that refugees from the GDR do not have it easy in the FRG—most of them have not found work in their specialized fields and are forced to spend a long time living in trailers hastily adapted to serve as housing and lacking mains services. But even those who somehow manage to solve all these problems find it hard to get used to an alien way of life to which they are not accustomed.

The number of people wanting to return has been rising in recent days. According to the GDR permanent mission in the FRG, over 100 such applications were received just last weekend. The prevailing situation is increasingly reminiscent of the familiar arithmetic textbook problem about a pool being filled from one pipe and drained from another.

A new draft law on foreign travel will be submitted for ratification by the People's Chamber in the very near future. Will everyone be given the right to emigrate on request? During his meeting with Berlin machine tool builders, Egon Krenz, first secretary of the SED Central Committee, noted in reply to this question: "The settlement of the question of travel does not depend on our own good will alone. The Western side is creating quite a few obstacles. We cannot allow GDR citizens to be treated as 'second-class' people in the FRG. The GDR is and will always remain a sovereign state. Bonn will have to bear this in mind if it is interested in good-neighborly relations."

There are equally painful overtones in the question of the actions of the People's Police toward demonstrators. The GDR Prosecutor's Office has received numerous statements claiming that the police exceeded their powers by using force against totally innocent people at unauthorized rallies held during the celebrations of the republic's jubilee. This was also raised during the young people's meeting with Guenter Schabowski and at a press conference held earlier this week. The population perceive this problem as a kind of "litmus test" making it possible to judge whether the democratic changes are genuine.

Guenter Wendland, GDR general prosecuting attorney, assured the public that all reports will be thoroughly investigated. "We shall not tolerate either abuses and violations of socialist legality, or any slander, regardless of whether it is aimed against individual citizens or state organs." At the same time, he does accept that people uninvolved in the organization of disturbances could have been detained in the commotion prevailing at the unauthorized rallies, which were held mainly at dusk...

The entire GDR is now in the grip of debates. Meetings are being held at plants and factories, in cooperatives and higher education establishments. This unprecedentedly broad dialogue focuses mainly on domestic problems, the quest for ways to further democratize social life, and the acceleration of socioeconomic development. Frankly, bearing in mind that shortages here are nothing like a "sword of Damocles" threatening the population's prosperity and our German friends can be sincerely envied for many of their social gains, sometimes it seems as if the GDR working people are rather too fastidious in their demands. We should have their worries, as the saying goes! But when it comes to their store windows, they compare them not with our empty ones but with West Berlin and West German store windows, which groan under the load of abundance. And therefore they deem their living standards unsatisfactory...

Yes, until quite recently any unauthorized rally in the GDR was treated as hostile. And only People's Police subunits went out to meet the demonstrators. Nowadays, party and state leaders and representatives of the church and of public organizations are at the center of debate. Shortcomings and past mistakes are the topic of an increasingly open and frank discussion in the mass media. Everything that prevented the country's advance along the socialist path is being resolutely demolished.

SFRY Premier's U.S. Trip Assessed

PM2310130589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent Ye. Vostrukhov: "SFRY: 1 Billion for Reform"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Yugoslav press is animatedly discussing the working visit paid to the United States by an SFRY delegation headed by Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council. As the newspapers stress, the head of government set a kind of record during his 4-day sojourn in New York and Washington by racking up in this short time more than 20 meetings and converations with influential representatives of American economic, financial, and political circles.

The Yugoslav Government head was received by President George Bush in the White House. The meeting, which lasted 30 minutes, was rated by the two leaders as "exceptionally serious, frank, and constructive." At a press conference held on his return home Markovic rated the results of his U.S. visit as on the whole "superlative, yielding more than expected from the transatlantic trip..."

What was expected in Yugoslavia from his trip to America? First, a strengthening of the traditionally good relations between the two countries. In recent months these relations have been marred by unwarranted repeated attacks on the SFRY's domestic policy by U.S. congressmen and unsubstantiated charges of human rights violations. Resolutions adopted in the House of Representatives, the Senate, and certain committees of Congress (already reported by IZVESTIYA) are offensive to Yugoslavia. Second, Markovic and his colleagues had a specific objective—to secure support from influential American business circles and the administration for the implementation of economic reform in Yugoslavia and the reconstruction of its banking and financial systems. "We are not opposed to material aid, but set greater store by understanding, support, and cooperation," Markovic stated on arriving in New York.

What kind of cooperation is involved and why, according to the newspaper BORBA, is this visit of enormous significance for the succesful implementation of the economic and social reforms in the SFRY? After all, Markovic was arriving in America "under a cloud," according to the newspaper. He was arriving from a country where, as Americans see it, "civil rights and freedoms are in a fragile state" and the political situation, with reformers constantly battling against dogmatists, is uncertain, while, on the international plane, Yugoslavia no longer plays its former role... Nevertheless the Markovic visit was considered by BORBA to make undoubted political sense.

It took place at a time when the [SFRY] federal government had already implemented some of the measures in its new economic program. During the talks in the United States Markovic put his trump cards on the table, namely: fundamental changes in the economic system, where the private and public sectors enjoy equal rights; opportunities for competition between domestic public and private sector capital and foreign capital; free foreign trade exchange; 30-percent growth in exports on the convertible market; growth in imports; a currency reserve; and a $5 billion reduction in foreign debt in the current year. These are all undoubtedly trump cards, and it is no wonder that Western countries providing material and other support for the Markovic program consider that the program is of international significance.

Such support is even more necessary now, since many provisions of the economic reform in Yugoslavia are now at a critical phase. Galloping inflation, which is already in four figures, the disorganized financial system, and the rapid devaluation of national currency all threaten to nullify the government's efforts to carry out the planned reform. The program to extricate Yugoslavia from its deep crisis needs at least $1 billion in support, primarily to restore the financial and banking systems.

Italy recently went along with the SFRY and proposed that the seven most developed countries of the world offer Yugoslavia $1 billion in financial aid (Italy pledged to grant $300 million). Judging by the results of the visit, U.S. business and financial circles are also favorably disposed toward the changes in the SFRY and the idea of establishing market relations and a market economy. This was demonstrated by the productive talks Markovic held with the U.S. commerce secretary, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, the president of the World Bank, and the executive director of the IMF. The Yugoslav Government head used concrete facts to show that the low level of commodity exchange between the two countries and the long stagnation in scientific and technical cooperation and other spheres is unfavorable to both sides, particularly at a time when the SFRY has opened its doors to the European market.

While Markovic reached mutual understanding with representatives of business and financial circles, the attitude of certain congressmen toward SFRY domestic policy remained the same. During conversation with members of the House of Representatives Markovic heard the same old speeches alleging continuing human rights violations, the "elimination" of autonomy in Kosovo and Vojvodina with the adoption of the new Serbian constitution, and so forth. Some people still clearly continue to entertain the stereotypes of former times.

And in Yugoslavia itself the attitude to Markovic's mission is mixed. There are people who ask who empowered the premier to solicit money across the Atlantic and why the SFRY should add another $1 billion to its already sizable foreign debt.

West Europe

Gorbachev's First Day in Finland Reported

PM2610191189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev in Finland"]

[Excerpts] On 25 October the Soviet-Finnish summit began in Helsinki. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon of that busy day M.S. Gorbachev and his entourage visited the capital's Hietaniemi Cemetery, where the remains of outstanding Finnish statesmen President Paasikivi and Kekkonen lie. Important milestones in the formation and development of friendly, good-neighborly relations between our countries are associated with their names. The Soviet leader laid wreaths on the graves.

M.S. Gorbachev went up to a group of the capital's inhabitants and conveyed greetings from Moscow. I am glad to have been able to pay homage to the remains of two great sons of Finland, he said. I have had a very good conversation today with President Mauno Koivisto and we talked about our joint activities. Saying that everything is fine is not doing anything, though. We must do things, so that things are fine all the time. Tomorrow I will have meetings with your politicians and businessmen. We will talk about what we can do to make our cooperation productive.

I also want to say, and you, particularly the older generation, will probably know, that Finns are regarded in the Soviet Union as close friends. Thank you for the warmth and hospitality. Now we are going to the place where Lenin once lived. First I want to thank the citizens of Finland for the way they have treated the memory of Lenin.

Then the party went to Hakaniemi Square, where the V.I. Lenin museum-apartment is located. The future leader of the world's first socialist state lived there in August 1917. The house has no elevator—a steep spiral staircase leads to the fifth and top floor, to the one-room apartment, number 22. It belonged at the time to the Finnish social democrat G. Rovio. The apartment was acquired by the "Finland-Soviet Union" society and a museum was set up in it.

The Soviet guests toured the museum. It has been a very important visit for us, M.S. Gorbachev said. Our people value the fact that the Finns are so respectful of the memory of our great compatriot. No doubt all Finns know how Lenin regarded Finland.

A representative of Finnish television put a question: You often talk about Lenin's teaching. Do you consider that some of his tenets are now obsolete?

M.S. Gorbachev replied: We must learn Lenin's dialectics, see everything in terms of the development, in the context of events. The main thing with Lenin is dedication to the socialist idea, service to the people and their interests. This, above all, is what one must learn from Lenin.

M.S. Gorbachev gave the museum a gift: a facsimile edition of V.I. Lenin's work "State And Revolution." The following inscription was made in the visitors' book: "This is a stirring place: It was from here, Helsinki, that Vladimir Ilich Lenin returned to Petrograd to head the supreme revolution.

"The founder of the Soviet state believed in friendship between our countries and peoples. It is a living reality today, made up of thousands of multifaceted and useful ties.

"I am sincerely grateful to the people and government of Finland and the 'Finland-USSR' society for cherishing the memory of Lenin.

"M.S. Gorbachev,
"R.M. Gorbacheva."

Thousands of people had gathered in Hakaniemi Square to welcome the Soviet leader. They were chanting slogans: "Friendship, friendship!" "Perestroyka is good!" M.S. Gorbachev went up to the people and an uninhibited and warm conversation started up. One Finnish journalist managed to get close. How is Lenin to be regarded in present-day conditions?—he asked. M.S. Gorbachev replied: Through our perestroyka we want to continue the implementation of Lenin's concept of socialism in present-day conditions taking into account the experience the country has acquired and the achievements of world civilization as a whole.

Along the entire route the Soviet leader was greeted by inhabitants of the capital and numerous representatives of the media and photographers. Your TASS correspondent was told at the international information center that over 1,000 local and foreign journalists had applied for accreditation to cover the visit. M.S. Gorbachev's arrival and the start of the meetings on Finnish soil are the leading topic of news and comment in all the media. "Finns have been waiting 4 and ½ years for this visit," the paper DEMARI writes today. "Our relations are pretty close, and the time has now come to adopt new measures to develop them further." [passage omitted]

Meetings, Discussions Resume on Day Two of Visit

Gorbachev, Holkeri Meeting

PM2710091589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 27 Oct 89 p 1

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and H. Holkeri"]

[Text] During a meeting this morning, Mikhail Gorbachev and Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri briefly exchanged impressions of the first day of the visit and voiced complete satisfaction with its content and benevolent atmosphere.

They highly assessed the agreements and protocols to be signed today, which will largely determine the future of Soviet-Finnish cooperation resting on the solid foundation created in the preceding decades.

They stressed the signal importance of the summit declaration that raises bilateral relations to a qualitatively new level and symbolises the historic significance of the visit.

The interlocutors agreed that the protocols and agreements reflect the intentions of the two sides. They should be followed by practical deeds and the development of specific mechanisms to implement joint ideas.

H. Holkeri expressed the wish that S.A. Sitaryan's recent appointment as Soviet cochairman of the joint Commission on Economic Cooperation facilitiate this approach.

The sides discussed contacts in the scientific and technical sphere on mutually complementing principles and the mutually beneficial use of Finland's experience in the procurement and processing of timber.

Special attention was given to ecological problems in the Kola Peninsula, in the border areas and in the Baltic Sea. Problems of protecting and restoring the environment show how important it is for the two neighbours to take into account each other's interests.

This is also important in the global perspective. The mounting ecological threat inexorably reminds one about the interrelationship of today's world and the interdependence of the earth's inhabitants, Gorbachev observed.

This is one of the basic ideas of the new thinking. When there is understanding, including on the ecological aspect of interdependence, it is easier to look for solutions in the political sphere.

The prime minister resolutely backed this theme and attributed it to the emphasis on human interests that characterises Soviet perestroika.

The interlocutors agreed in principle on the procedure for studying some most important cooperation projects, including the Pechenganikel works.

Gorbachev reaffirmed Nikolay Ryzhkov's invitation to the Finnish prime minister to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union.

The Gorbachev-Holkeri conversation was marked by openness and a business-like and broad political approach to prospects of Soviet-Finnish cooperation. The following took part in it: A.N. Yakovlev; K.F. Katushev; B.I. Aristov; A.S. Chernyayev; H. Talvitie; T. Tolvanen; I. Lauren; and P. Rutanen.

Final meeting with Koivisto

PM2710091989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 27 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] The Soviet delegation led by Mikhail Gorbachev and the Finnish delegation headed by Mauno Koivisto had a final meeting today.

In exchanging views, both sides highly assessed the talks, the joint declaration and other documents.

The discussions in Helsinki were unique, President Koivisto expressed his personal opinion. "They showed that relations between our countries are developing well and in an all-round way.

We have already a solid contractual basis and are now building a no less solid basis for the future.

Both countries stand for a safer world, for a more unified Europe and for a peaceful life for the nations and individuals."

Gorbachev said that "before leaving Moscow we knew that the talks would be successful and that their results would be positive. We had no doubts about that.

But it is probably obvious that something greater has happened, and our dialogue enables us to make this conclusion."

"Our negotiations seem to give an answer to questions raised by the current stage in the development of our relations, European and world situation," Gorbachev said.

"I think that the visit and everything that is taking place here can be described as a serious world event," he noted. "The most important thing is that the USSR and Finland are acting as trail- blazers for all other nations." On the Soviet side A.N. Yakovlev, K.F. Katushev, and A.G. Kovalev reported on the results of the meetings and conversations in various areas. On the Finnish side ministers P. Paasio and I. Suominen pointed out that the work took place in a harmonious fashion without difficulties. It was deemed necessary to establish permanent supervision of compliance with the summit accords and their consistent implementation. According to M.S. Gorbachev and M. Koivisto, the appropriate bilateral mechanism must be set up for this.

The talks took place in an atmosphere of friendly mutual understanding, with a mutual desire to broaden and deepen contacts between the two countries.

Koivisto's Views, Interview

LD2610231889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast, interview with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto in Helsinki by unidentified correspondent, date not specified; Koivisto remarks in Finnish with superimposed Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr President, what is your assessment of the atmosphere of the talks with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and what significance do you attach to his visit?

[Koivisto] We awaited this visit with great enthusiasm, and were confident that the visit would be successful. Today one can say that our people have welcomed him with a special warmth. People were not afraid, as is usually the case with us, to display their feelings openly. The atmosphere of the visit has been, from the beginning, very direct and warm. The schedule gave us enough time to talk, particularly face to face.

Perestroyka can be said to have accompanied great changes in the political situation in Europe and in the international situation as a whole. Mutual understanding among people has been strengthened. Fears of the possibility of military conflicts breaking out have been reduced, and there is a growing understanding that military spending can be reduced and that we can use our limited resources in the interests of meeting people's everyday needs. We realize that the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union is at present going through a difficult, critical period. Very intense discussion is going on in the quest for practical solutions based on the fundamental approaches that have been adopted. We are with you in our thoughts in the promotion of this important and noble process. We wish the Soviet people the best of success in this undertaking.

I wish the Soviet people all the best, especially in carrying out the (?mighty) program of perestroyka. This is the most, a very important idea, and a very noble activity.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Mr President.

TASS on Gorbachev-Koivisto Declaration

LD2610170489 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Helsinki October 26 TASS—The Soviet Union and Finland have stressed their commitment to "active participation in the creation of a world where there is no use of force, intimidation, inequality, oppression, discrimination, nor interference in the internal affairs of other countries."

In a joint declaration signed here today, the leaders of the two countries, Mikhail Gorbachev and Mauno Koivisto, pledged their support for the settlement of all disputes, including regional conflicts, solely through political means.

The two countries expressed "absolute respect for the principle of the freedom of social and political choice, deideologisation and humanisation of the relations between states, adherence to international law in foreign policy activities, and the priority of human interests and values."

Among top-priority measures to guarantee international security they singled out "an exact and urgent definition of the concrete parameters of the minimum deterrence concerning nuclear armaments, including tactical nuclear weapons."

Gorbachev and Koivisto called for the reduction of the conventional armed forces in Europe to a level sufficient for defensive purposes in order to "effecively eliminate the capability for launching surprise attack and for initiating large-scale offensive action."

In the economic sphere, they proposed equal and free interaction between economic systems and integration processes on the basis of extensive commercial, economic, scientific, technical and industrial cooperation. In a special section dealing with environmental issues, the Soviet and Finnish leaders called for the "restoration of the balance between man and nature as well as recovery of the human habitat by combining scientific and technical development and the improvement of the condition of global and regional ecosystems."

The two countries will strive to protect and restore regional ecosystems and to develop international cooperation for the protection of the Arctic environment and the revival of the marine environment of the Baltic Sea.

The Soviet Union and Finland called for "implementation everywhere to their fullest extent of the human rights and fundamental freedoms that have been internationally agreed upon, as the yardstick of the practice of states, a dynamic implementation of the human dimension of the CSCE process and its enrichment in the conference on the human dimension of the CSCE, the next meetings of which will be held in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Moscow in 1991."

The two countries pledged to adhere to the principle of free and open exchange of people, ideas, information, spiritual and cultural values.

They will also exchange experience to be gained from the socio- economic and political development, with a view to eradicate deep- rooted patterns of thinking and enemy perceptions of the past, to prevent their re-emergence, and to replace them in the consciousness of new generations, above all of the youth, with the image of a partner.

The USSR and Finland undertake to harmonise their laws, regulations, practices and policies with their international obligations.

The two countries will strive to advance towards a unified Europe—a Europe of states adhering to the rule of law, a Europe of trust, harmony, openness and stability, a Europe that does not withdraw into itself but is open towards all continents.

Gorbachev Speech at Finlandia Hall

PM2710104589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 27 Oct 89 pp 1-2

["M.S. Gorbachev Speech"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, comrades: The meeting here with you, who represent a people who have become our friends, completes the main part of my visit. We will implement its results together. It can already be said that President Koivisto and I have laid the basis for a new round in the salutary development of Soviet-Finnish relations.

The meeting here in Finlandia Hall is also significant in that it is taking place, if you will allow me to put it this way, in that same maternal home where, 15 years ago, the all-European process began its life. It is here that in 1975 the Helsinki chimes started counting off the all-European time.

Having in the past few years fallen into the sphere of influence of the new thinking, this process is quickly gathering energy and is being filled with real content. Under its influence, the entire world community has been put in motion. For centuries interstate relations were subordinated to the logic of violence—the harsh, refined logic of war. Politics was the concubine of Mars, the god of war. It was said of diplomats that their role was to create a situation ensuring the advantage for their state in the next war.

It is only in our time that a new logic, the logic of the new political thinking, has intruded into this eternal process. It is just taking its first steps. The arrival at a new level of the Helsinki process, the 1986 Stockholm accords on confidence-building measures, the Delhi declaration, the treaty on eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles, the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the new quality of interstate dialogue at summit level as a key factor in contemporary world politics, the revival of the role of the United Nations—these are the impressive signs of that new logic in world development.

An hour ago, the Soviet-Finnish declaration I signed with President Koivisto joined their ranks, an extraordinary document of international significance. A major European-Asiatic nuclear state, a member of a military alliance and a relatively small, neutral state in northern Europe have jointly declared their resolution to act to implant the principles of the freedom of choice, the democratization and humanization of relations, the primacy of international law, and the supremacy of common human interests into interstate matters and they call other countries and peoples to this as well. This document is testimony of the unique high level of relations between the Soviet Union and Finland, and at the same time it reflects the hope that is gaining strength throughout the world that the domestic and foreign policies of states will turn toward people.

But his epoch-making shift will take place only in conditions of peace. What is this? How do we understand it? A period of peace presupposes the common consent of states that problems, those left over from the past or those arising in our own time, can be solved by the use of weapons. Once this idea is reality it will be necessary to reduce the level of armaments to the limits of reasonable sufficiency for defense; to renounce policies of force, hegemonism, and interference in the affairs of other countries.

Phenomena that would appear to be habitual, but are inconsistent with peace, should gradually disappear: the presence of foreign troops on the territory of other countries, military alliances, COCOM [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy], and extensive closed areas. A peaceful period means constant political dialogue, which signifies a search for mutually acceptable decisions, and is at the same time a kind of preventive means for forestalling conflicts and misunderstandings. It is also a source of new ideas and new approaches in international affairs.

A peaceful period means creating a generally recognized legal basis for relations among states. If you like, it is a worldwide legal order ensuring freedom of sociopolitical choice and guaranteeing the sovereignty and independence of all. It naturally presupposes the observance at an international level of the moral norms that distinguish relations among civilized people.

A peaceful period means a common concern for shaping a genuinely internationalist and truly worldwide economy, which will contribute, on an equal basis, to the stable development of each country and its sensible utilization of its own resources. It also means mutually advantageous access to the resources of other countries.

A peaceful period means broad and open cooperation in the resolution of global problems, from the protection of the environment we live in to the eradication of such evils of the age as terrorism or drug addiction. A peaceful period means cultivating an international system of urgent mutual assistance in the event of natural disasters, industrial accidents and catastrophes, and any other situations that pose a danger to life.

Finally, a peaceful period is the interaction of countries and peoples in ensuring and defending, throughout the world, human rights in all their multifaceted nature. The pivotal and humanistic content and the main idea of the peaceful period lies in this.

Is mankind capable of effecting the breakthrough to such a quality of mutual relations that is new in principle? this is, Of course, a difficult matter. Many centuries of history have almost never known a long and stable peace. However, mankind does have a model, a sort of experimental basis, for the formation of a peaceful period. i am talking about Europe, which not only will soon have lived for 45 years without a war, but also has accumulated an instructive potential of many varied countries' living together. This is known as the European process.

It cannot be regarded as a coincidence that Finland was the venue for the successful holding of the first, founding European conference on security and cooperation. It made its capital available for this and by its diplomatic arts made a considerable contribution to the building of bridges of agreement between East and West and to the preparation of the understandings that were then reached. It is quite natural that the process that began here in your country has two names—the all-European process and the Helsinki process.

I must make mention of the constructive contribution made by small and medium-size states, in particular those of northern Europe. Europeans are indebted to them for many useful ideas and compromise initiatives. The voice of Finland in all of this work has been heard clearly and authoritatively.

What has been achieved on the all-European path is mainly due to the N and N group—that is, the neutral and nonaligned countries which, by the way, make up one-third of the European community of states. The months that have passed since the Vienna meeting have shown that European matters are making sure progress. This is shown by the first part of the conference on human rights in Paris, the London information forum, and the ecology conference in Sofia. it appeares that Good grounds for considering that an agreement on reducing troops and armaments and on confidence-building measures in Europe can be reached as early as next year. This is such a major event that it would be correct if this document were to be signed at the level of the leaders of all states participating in the European process.

Moreover, I believe that a logical idea is now becoming established in the public; that is, has the time not come for the present generation of leaders of European countries, the United States, and Canada once again to discuss the state of European affairs, to look to the future of Europe beyond the confines of the waning century? Therefore it would be worth holding, at the level of the leaders of all 35 states, the meeting planned for 1992 within the framework of the European process. We would welcome it if this Helsinki II were to take place here in Helsinki. President Mauno Koivisto told us today that he agrees with this. [applause] Meanwhile, we intend to tirelessly deepen bilateral cooperation with the countries of Europe, the United States, and Canada, and to arrange interaction with the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade Association. On the agenda is the formation of a common European economic space. The fact that integratory groups are developing at different speeds should not hinder the search for points of contact, all the more so as there are already a significant number of common concerns. Perhaps, taking this into account, a meeting of experts from the countries representing all three groups can be considered. Such a sort of European trilateral commission could, for example, discuss the issue of the comparability of economic and statistical indices and the interfacing of economic mechanisms. The changes taking place in Europe remind us of this need.

Following the visit to Strasbourg, our links with the Council of Europe along parliamentary and governmental lines are getting underway. They are encouraging and force us to think to the future right now. Within the framework of the Council of Europe, its convention and agreements, and specialized institutions, great experience of multilateral communication has been accumulated which deserves to be more dynamically used.

regarding the disarmament side of the European process, the positive changes which have taken place in recent times, and also those beyond the confines of the Vienna negotiations, will undoubtedly have a favorable effect on it. The possibility of concluding a treaty on a complete ban and elimination of chemical weapons has come closer. There is progress on the question of interim steps which, as we hope, will lead to the cessation of USSR and U.S. nuclear tests, about which the planet's whole population is vitally concerned.

As a result of constructive actions by both sides, the prospects of entering into a treaty on a 50-percent cut in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive weapons have improved. All this undoubtedly brings us closer to a peaceful period. But the more progress made on this path, the more pressing the need to resolve questions concerning naval forces, including confidence-building measures and corresponding verification [kontrol].

In the conditions of reducing other types of armaments, the destabilizing role of these forces will be increasing. Currently in the East, and especially in the West, their available personnel patently exceeds the requirements for protecting seaways and for coastal defense. The naval forces with their enormous missile and artillery might, aircraft, and aircraft carriers, with their amphibious assault subunits have the ability to act not only at sea but also on land. In our view, the process of strengthening trust, reducing and then subsequently completely eliminating military confrontation, and making the transition to nonoffensive defence will simply not take place unless this problem is resolved.

While staying in your country as a guest, it is appropriate and generally topical to express our viewpoint on the security of Northern Europe. This region is of enormous stabilizing importance for the whole European process. The USSR highly values Finland's initiative—which has received the support of other countries— which advocated the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. We know that this idea is not meeting understanding everywhere, in particular in the United States.

From this rostrum I would like to address our partners in Washington and other capitals: Let us once again weigh all aspects of the issue and move in some way to meet the desire of the people of Northern Europe to make their countries a reliable wing of the all-European and world security system. [applause] Certain ideas on this score were put forward in Murmansk. In the past 2 years we have undertaken specific actions. In part they were the result of the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, but also of unilateral steps by the Soviet leadership not directly related to the negotiations being held. As of this date, no Soviet medium- or shorter- range missiles remain any longer on alert duty [boyevoye dezhurstvo] in areas adjoining the European north. Our tactical nuclear weapons are now deployed in such a way that they cannot reach the countries of northern Europe from a single point on Soviet territory.

The Soviet Union has adopted a decision on its nuclear weapons in the Baltic Sea. We are unilaterally setting about eliminating here certain categories of these sea-launched weapons. By way of a first step, as has already been reported, the USSR has withdrawn from its force composition two submarines known in the West as Gulf-class, and by the end of 1990 it will eliminate [likvidirovat] the remaining four. We will also destroy the combat supplies of nuclear missiles earmarked for these submarines. We will not replace them.

We are ready to reach agreement with all the nuclear powers and the Baltic states on effective guarantees for the nuclear-free status of the Baltic Sea. In the European part of the USSR and on the territory of our allies, overall troop strengths have already been unilaterally reduced by more than 200,000.

In Central Europe we have substantially reduced the quantity of such types of material as assault-ground attack and crossing equipment. In short, our Armed Forces are increasingly, and very clearly, assuming a defensive nature. Next year will see the completion of their transformation in this direction in the northern region. On the Soviet-Finnish border itself the numerical strength of Soviet land troops is already less than the total numerical strength of such troops in Finland.

One can thus confidently claim that the military-political situation in the North has changed radically. It is already senseless here to talk of attacks, or of the emergence of an armed conflict. I know that our neighbors in Northern Europe and in Finland itself are concerned over the powerful naval group deployed, for the most part, on the Kola Peninsula. Yes, these are our sea-based strategic forces, and the matter of reducing them could be tackled on a global scale, as I have already said.

Specifically, on the subject of what directly affects the northern region in this connection, I would like to say the following:

First, our previous proposals, including those made in Murmansk, on limiting and reducing military activity here, including that of the navy and airforce, remain fully in force.

Second, I would like to remind you of President Koivisto's idea concerning confidence-building measures in the northern sea regions. In general, as is known, we propose that the naval aspects of disarmament be discussed at the Vienna talks, and we stick by this. It would, however, be possible as a first step to come to an agreement on corresponding measures regarding the sea areas of the northern part of Europe.

Third, we would be willing, taking into account the initiatives of other countries, including Norway, to begin consultations or talks on concluding an agreement calling for mutual notification of accidents on ships, including accidents on nuclear submarines. We are in favor of such an agreement, including in the northern Atlantic, being signed not only by the northern countries, but by all who carry out naval activities here.

Fourth, we propose setting up a permanent parliamentary group of the northern countries to discuss all the region's problems, from security to human rights.

A number of the issues can be resolved on a bilateral basis. We, for instance, believe that the time has come to look again at the problem of demarcating the maritime areas of the Barents Sea with Norway and find a mutually-acceptable solution.

We are ready to establish contracts with the Nordic Council. We propose initially carrying out a meeting of a delegation of the Council with representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and then of the Supreme Soviets of the union and autonomous republics situated in the northern part of our country.

We know of the Northern countries' concern about ecological problems and share this concern. Nature in the North is fragile and difficult to restore. no small amount of damage has already been done to it. And yet, after all, the Arctic is one of the weather workshops for the whole planet. The Leningrad conference of scientists of the northern countries at the end of last year, and the meeting in Moscow of parliamentarians this year, have made a beginning in the search for the ecological coordinates of cooperation.

It is evidently time to think about a general program, and on its basis, to arrange interaction, in particular, on the production of environmentally protective technology. Also, general norms, standards, are necessary, and methods of monitoring [kontroli] the state of the natural environment in the North. We greet Finland's initiative to convene a multilateral, intergovernmental conference on the ecology of the Arctic.

I think that an exchange of opinions on major economic and power projects planned to be carried out in the northern countries would be useful. some of them, evidently, could be made mutually complementary. At the aforementioned meeting of parliamentarians the subject of the fate of the small nordic countries was raised. It concerns us and became the subject of sharp debate [ostryy razgovor] at the Congress of People's Deputies, at the USSR Supreme Soviet and at the September plenum of the Communist Party Central Committee. We are ready for broad contacts and for an exchange of experience also on this problem.

In a word, cooperation between the northern countries is a most important part of the all-European process. It is one of the lines of activity already in operation, which are working toward the democratization and humanization of international relations, and which are taking us to a peaceful period.

Now I would like to address the main subject of my visit: Soviet-Finnish relations. Theirs is a rich and chequered history. There was a bit of everything: Both good and bad. But the former predominates considerably. A decisive role in this was played by the fact that both our states have drawn fundamental and responsible conclusions from the 1939-44 tragedy. Life has fully confirmed that the decisions then taken have turned out to be solely correct and historically wise.

The contribution made to goodneighborliness and friendship between our peoples by such major Finnish statesmen as Paasikivi, Kekkonen, and of course, President Koivisto is invaluable, and the people in the Soviet Union have full trust in them and sincere respect.

We in the Soviet Union are profoundly satisfied with the development of relations with Finland. It is difficult to overestimate their importance to us at the height of the Cold War, when the Western world built a wall of alienation around us. They have held out against all short-term anti-Soviet tempests.

Today, when the postwar period has ended, Soviet-Finnish relations will not only go down in history as a symbol of decency in international affairs, of respectfulness, and of being true to one's word, but also as an example of what an important role can be played in world politics by a partner's reliability and trust in bilateral relations. They are being filled with a new political and economic content and are gathering new dynamics also as an international factor. We have learned to trust one another's love of peace. We do not evade the discussion of any problems whatsoever. We frankly discuss with one another our concerns and anxieties. And it is precisely on this basis that we are looking for a solution to difficulties which arise.

More than 150 treaties and agreements link our states. The relationship of partners between the Communist Party and the political parties of Finland is decades old. The links between citizens of both countries in a social context are broad and multifarious. A whole set of instruments of mutual respect and agreements of interests has been built up.

Is this not a contribution to the formation of policy for a period of peace of international scale; to a nonviolent world of the future, built on a balance of interests, on attention and respect for another people and people of another country? Concern to preserve just such relations with Finland is a strong and inalienable link in all our foreign policy activity.

In this connection one cannot but say kind words about the 1948 treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid. There are few documents in the history of diplomacy that have been so effective for such a long time. A radical turn in our relations is connected with the treaty. We agree with president Mauno Koivisto—we should not alter one word of this treaty. It corresponds to the realities of our time and enables us to act fully and as equals now and in the future in our own interests and in the interests of Europe and the world. It has become an inalienable component of security of northern Europe.

The 1948 treaty and Finland's neutrality are, as you say here, the basis of your country's foreign policy. the two elements, the treaty and neutrality, do not contradict, but rather reinforce each other.

It is known that at one time there were debates on the interpretation of Finnish neutrality. Sometimes they are resumed today as well. We will not repeat old stereotypes and recall groundless fears. Yes, Finnish neutrality, as for that matter the neutrality of all countries with such a status, has its peculiarities, but I would like to state with all certainty that the Soviet Union unreservedly recognizes Finland's neutral status and will continue to fully observe it. [applause]

You Mr President, have said frequently that Finland considers its neutrality to mean neither indifference toward the processes taking place in the world nor neglect of the obligations it, like every member of the world community, has assumed. Finland has proven by its deeds that a relatively small state, but one full of goodwill, can play an important and dynamic role in world politics.

In conversations with the president and with other Finnish statesmen, we have discussed in detail the problems of the further development of bilateral relations. Without repeating what was said yesterday, I will merely remark that both the president and I are firmly convinced that there are still many unused opportunities in Soviet-Finnish relations, notwithstanding their present scope. We agreed to do the utmost to put them into practice.

In actual fact, there is only one aspect of our ties that gives rise to a certain concern—the state of trade and economic exchange. The difficulties that have arisen are of an objective nature, but this does not mean they are insurmountable. I am confident that the numerous contacts and negotiations going on between our representatives over these few days, and of course, the documents just signed will help to solve the problems.

The president and I also discussed some new ideas. I think that in conditions of republican and regional financial autonomy ties between Finland and its individual regions on the one hand, and the inland oblasts of Russia, Karelia, Komi, and the Soviet Baltic region on the other, will develop more vigorously.

Mr. President, esteemed gentlemen, friends. Each of our countries has its own history and traditions, its concerns and interests. Each lives by its own clock, so to speak, but the intensification and refinement of our relations with one another is both in our own interests and in the interests of Europe and the entire world community. Together, we have already done a great deal to build the northern wall and northern roof of the common European home, that peaceful project for the future. We have helped others believe in it through our example of good-neighborliness.

I sincerely wish friendly Finland and its people well-being and prosperity. Thank you, all citizens of Finland, for your hospitality, cordiality and feelings of friendship. Thank you. [applause]

Further on Gorbachev Speech

AU2610145289 Paris AFP in English 1624 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Helsinki, Oct 26 (AFP)—The Soviet Union will unilaterally destroy its four remaining strategic nuclear missile-carrying submarines in the Baltic before the end of next year, President Mikhail Gorbachev said here Thursday.

"We will also destroy their standard nuclear missile payloads and we have no plans for their replacement," Mr. Gorbachev said in a speech on the second day of his state visit to Finland. Moscow had earlier announced it was dismantling two of its six Golf-class strategic missile-carrying submarines in the Baltic.

"As of now, we have no medium- or shorter-range missiles on operational status in areas adjacent to the north of Europe," Mr. Gorbachev said. "Soviet tactical nuclear systems are now deployed in areas from which they cannot reach northern Europe from any given site on Soviet territory."

Mr. Gorbachev added that Moscow is "prepared to come to agreement with all the nuclear powers and the Baltic states on effective guarantees for the nuclear-free status of the Baltic Sea. He said, however, that reductions in Soviet strategic naval forces based in the Arctic Kola peninsula would have to be discussed on "a global scale".

The Soviet leader renewed proposals he first made two years ago in Murmansk on limiting military activity in the northern and Artic regions, while suggesting that naval confidence-building measures be discussed in the context of the Vienna negotiations. He also proposed setting up a permanent parliamentary group of nordic countries to discuss all regional problems.

Speaking of security in Europe, Mr. Gorbachev said that present conditions called for countries "to renounce power politics, hegemonism and interference in the affairs of others". A "period of peace" in Europe means that "no past or current problems can be resolved through the use of arms" and that states should move towards the gradual elimination of the presence of foreign troops in other countries along with the dismantling of military alliances.

In a joint declaration signed earlier in the day, Moscow and Helsinki affirmed their "absolute respect for the principle of the freedom of social and political choice, de-ideologization and humanization of the relations between states (and) adherence to international law in foreign policy activities".

"There are grounds to expect an agreement on force reductions and confidence-building measures in Europe to be completed as early as next year," Mr. Gorbachev said, adding that leaders from all 35 states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should convene for the signing of an agreement.

The next CSCE follow-up meeting, slated for 1992, should for its part look into "Europe's future beyond this century", he said.

On Soviet-Finnish relations, Mr. Gorbachev said he agreed with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto that: "We need not change a single word in that (1948) treaty" of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. But Moscow "unreservedly recognizes Finland's neutral status and shall continue to do so in the future". "The 1948 treaty and Finland's neutrality constitute (...) the basis of (Finland's) national foreign policy; with both elements -the treaty and neutrality -being non-conflicting and mutually supportive".

Mr. Gorbachev also said that he hoped that moves to grant greater economic autonomy to the Soviet Baltic republics, as of next year, will allow for increased contacts between these regions and Finland. Areas such as Karelia and the Komi republic should also benefit from closer ties, he added.

Mr. Gorbachev and Finnish President Mauno Koivisto also on Thursday signed a new five-year bilateral trade accord covering 1991-1995, under which Finland will import Soviet oil products and natural gas in exchange for Finnish machine tools and industrial products including ships and ship repair equipment.

Finland will also import Soviet machinery and industrial equipment and wood for paper pulp, while Moscow will take shoes, clothing and medicines.

Finnish exports to the Soviet Union totalled 13.5 billion Finnish marks (3.1 billion dollars) against imports worth 10.5 billion Finnish marks (2.4 billion dollars).

Helsinki Press Conference

LD2610234789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2014 GMT 26 Oct 89

[News conference by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev with various reporters at the Finlandia Hall in Helsinki on 26 October—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] On 26 October in Finlandia Hall in Helsinki after his speech to representatives of Finland's political, business and public circles Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had a meeting with journalists.

[Paro] Rafael Paro, HUFVUDSTADSBLADET.

[Journalist] [words indistinct] Moscow office.

[Gorbachev] A Muscovite, a Muscovite? Good.

[Lampi] Ilkka Lampi, UUSI SUOMI, New Finland.

[Gorbachev] Good, compatriots?

[(Kekman)] (Vaseri Kekman), Moscow correspondent for the SCANDINAVIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

[Gorbachev] Also Moscow.

[(Laaninen)] (Timo Laaninen), SUOMENMAA, Helsinki.

[Halonen] Jukka Halonen, DEMARI, Helsinki.

[Vilpponen] Hannu Vilpponen, Finish television and radio correspondent in Moscow.

[Keisalo] Paavo Keisalo, SUOMEN KUVALEHTI.

[Anupyld] Enn Anupyld, Soviet television, Soviet television correspondent in Helsinki.

[Correspondent] Also from Novgorod, (?PRAVDA correspondent).

[Correspondent] Ten o'clock news. [word indistinct] Petaevisto, television.

[Gorbachev] I thought I would ask you for one question each, but there are so many of you that we would be here a long time. Anyway, who is going to be in charge? All of us?

[Journalist] Maybe television could be first to put a question. If it's suitable, without a translation. One could translate it later, because [word indistinct] (?time).

Yes, for us Finns one of the most important results of your visit is that now, for the first time, both the declaration and your speech talk of Finland's neutrality rather than of a striving for neutrality, as in the past. Does this change of terms signify a change of view in the Soviet Union's stance on Finland?

[Gorbachev] As far as the Soviet Union's position is concerned, it remains as before. I believe that it was simply necessary to return once again to this theme and to confirm it at the present stage of the development of the all-European and world processes. I believe this is a topical and expedient thing to do because we are seeing the neutral and nonaligned countries playing an ever increasing role, and since we have before us the prospect of constructing a new Europe, one in which the peoples, while remaining committed to their choices, their culture and traditions, nevertheless cooperate and exchange the results of their labor. Movement toward this Europe will be a lengthy and difficult process, and I believe that we have already felt in the first stage that we cannot do without the contribution, the constructive contribution of states such as Finland and other neutral and nonaligned states. I considered it necessary to highlight this especially.

[Journalist] You also said in your speech that you are expecting specific results from Vienna as early as next year, and that that document should be signed at the very highest level. Where might such a meeting take place?

[Gorbachev] I don't believe that is really so important. You noticed that I spoke in favor of a Helsinki II, and this I confirm, this I confirm. The president and I spoke about it yesterday. We discovered that of the leaders who signed the Helsinki Final Act only three are still performing the duties of leaders today—two even plus the Vatican representative, Casaroli.

It would be important, now that we have entered a stage of profound change in the world, and, I would say, in our continent also, to reaffirm commitment to the European, the Helsinki process, and moreover to enrich it with the benefit of experience and take into account the concerns that the times have produced. That would be a great event and, I would say, a very significant contribution to reinforcing these healthy trends in the restructuring of international relations. So that's how I and our leadership conceived the idea. I am happy to state that President Koivisto shares these same ideas, this same approach and thoughts. So I decided to recap Helsinki II in order to develop my line of argument in favor of the proposal that I have just made.

As for the first part of your question, I would say that the main thing, after all, is the content. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned—and I know the stance of the Warsaw Pact countries—we will act vigorously and constructively on the basis of consideration of real interests, a balance of interests, and I believe that what I said was not just rose-tinted optimism, but a prediction that is firmly anchored in reality.

I see the atmosphere that took shape in Vienna. It enables us to solve and remove problems and to move forward. There are some obstacles, things that are incompletely understood and varying evaluations of certain problems, but that is a matter for negotiation. In principle, there is goodwill. It can be felt on all sides, and I believe that this will be the case. I think we will find a suitable place, for there are many splendid places in Europe where this process can be completed.

[Journalist] Ties between Finland—and individual internal regions—and oblasts of Russia, Karelia, Komi, and the Soviet Baltic will be developing in conditions of republican and regional financial autonomy. Does this mean that those regions are receiving the opportunity to develop mutual relations directly with Finland on the political level as well?

[Gorbachev] I believe that our relations with Finland will be constructed along the same course and develop as they have taken shape and are being conducted now. Within the framework of this, of these relations between the two states, there are broad opportunities for republics and regions, Leningrad, and the Baltic, to enter into direct contacts, too. So, I think that this will harmonize the efforts, and fit orgaically into the general process. I have already elucidated this.

[Journalist] Mikhail Sergeyevich, in which principal areas, in your view, could the Soviet Union and Finland interact in building the common European home?

[Gorbachev] You know, I think, I, with regard to this...

[Journalist, interrupting] A translation, if I may?

[Gorbachev] I think that Finland and the Soviet Union have already been working for a long time on building a common European home. Do you know why? What was still being called Finlandization recently and subjected to criticism—moreover, it was accompanied by hints, so to speak, regarding what sort of relations there could be between such an enormous country as the Soviet Union and Finland—it has turned out that all that has collapsed, while life has demonstrated the vitality of these relations.

I would say that, generally speaking, we and Finland have fulfilled and are fulfilling pioneering work. We have already accumulated a very large amount of capital in these relations, and this experience—what used to be called Finlandization—must now, I think, be called an asset and a large contribution, what is more, by the Soviet Union and Finland toward building new relations in Europe. I think that there is a very great deal that is useful here in these relations. Europeans, all of us together, have to think about it.

We also have interesting relations with Austria, for example—splendid relations. Austria is also a neutral country, and these relations are characterized by great dynamism, trust, and varied cooperation, which embraces both the economy, and culture, and scientific, and technical fields. In any event, you see, that what was once the object of criticism and all manner of speculation is now standing up as an example, as a reference point, showing what relations must [corrects himself] can be like. As for what this visit has done, it is definitely giving these relations, I would say, a new breath of air. In connection with this, I want—since you aren't asking me, I want to promote it myself—this political document I signed with the president today, the political declaration.

Read it. Please do. Not because I'm being arrogant about it and want to force it on you because I signed it. No, read the document. Ponder the document. It has a lot of sense in it, and I think that this is not only of use for Finnish relations but of use for the European process, too.

[Journalist] Mikhail Sergeyevich, you have just mentioned in your statement that you discussed certain new ideas on trade and econmic cooperation with President Koivisto. If it isn't a secret, what sort of ideas were they?

[Gorbachev] It's no secret. We've had intensive trade. We've had small-scale joint production. Now, in order to make these relations energetic, new forms of cooperation are needed. I can see them above all in joint enterprises, in the further intensification and development of joint production, and in the implementation of large-scale special-purpose programs. For instance, a most interesting program is taking shape for the rational utilization of forestry resoures in the Soviet Union, for bringing them into use. It is the sort of utilization that both preserves the forests, and is advantageous, and is implemented with benefit for both the Soviet Union and Finland, and perhaps for the benefit of other countries too. At any rate, the Finns are great specialists in this field, they have great experienuce and up-to-date technology. They know what we are doing, and pooling what we have and what the Finns have, and taking due account of the potential of other countries—I won't list them—the outlines of an interesting possible project emerge, embracing, I would say, large areas and involving many years. But it can have stages, and first of all, the first of these stages can relate to the Northwest. This is the interesting thing. The second...

[Journalist, interrupting] The Soviet northwest?

[Gorbachev] Yes, the Soviet northwest. Now the second project—the development of the resources of the Kola Peninsula. Third, ecology. There have been most interesting discussions, including just now, before the signing. The topic was at the focus of our attention. I think that all of what we are putting into play is very interesting. I think that zones of open—special zones of economic cooperation, could also emerge. This problem is already present, not just in the clouds so to speak, but also in people's minds, and this will also be a new form of cooperation. And finally, I can say that we agreed to cooperate in the training of personnel for the new relations, for the time when joint enterprises are being developed and we shall have to have a better understanding and link up our enterprises and the work of our economic departments. At any rate, that is what I would like to say. And there's more—I have not said everything.

[Journalist, in vernacular followed by Russian translation] Mr President, you talk of the European house, and specifically about the participation of the neutral states in the system of the all- European house. But imagine that some neutral country, as Austria has, asks to join the Common Market, the European Community. It would be interesting to know how you would react to that.

[Gorbachev] You know, what I would say is this. I generally welcome the integrationist processes in Europe, and I think that even in the framework of the existence of the organizations that already in reality exist in Europe, we should still seek points of contacts, and are seeking them. Contacts are underway between CEMA and the EEC, between the Trade Organization [as heard] and others, between the Parliamentary Union and the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, and the relevant bodies in the Eastern European countries. All these are interesting processes. And it seems to me that I'll put it like this. The more open we are... [changes thought] and all Europeans are now saying this; I have just talked to Mr Mitterrand, Mr Kohl, Mrs Thatcher, and now we've talked to President Koivisto here, and I've also had meetings with other leaders of the European countries. We are all now engaged in seeking ways to open up toward each other, how to step up the process of integration. So, in theory, I'm in favor of the intensification of integrationist processes—in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, moreover, and not just up to Brest. I'll finish what I was saying. To reply to your question about how we shall view it if some country takes certain decisions about its position regarding individual organizations. That is its right, that is its right [repeats himself].

[Journalist in Finnish followed by Russian translation] Mr President you speak a lot about the necessity of constructing a state of law. I would also like to move to the issue of internal policies. At the same time that the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted a law on strikes, in Vorkuta, as far as we know, a miners strike is taking place. Since strikes are now virtually becoming illegal, will any measures be taken to stop them?

[Gorbachev] I think that when the topic is the construction of a state of law we will, of course, more and more and decisively insist on resolving all the problems that arise by political methods. This does not exclude the possibility that for the law to triumph, if they are required for this, firm administrative methods will be applied by the procuracy, courts, and other bodies invested with a certain amount of authority. This should also be used for stability to be supported, for the security of people and human rights to be preserved, and so on.

As far as this incident in Vorkuta is concerned, I think that there it is like after an earthquake, when aftershocks happen. This is why it is local in nature and misunderstandings and misconceptions are arising. It was reported to me this morning, however, that, it seems, everything there is clearing up well.

I think we will strive to find solutions on the basis of mutual understanding. Among the people there is now understanding of the fact that during 72 years huge changes have taken place in the Soviet Union, for all of the shortcomings in the realization of the possibilities of the federation. What do I have in mind? A single national economic complex has been created, the Riga works for the production of small minibuses, RAF [expansion unknown] buses, well-known to you; it assembles these buses on its conveyors but receives parts from 400 enterprises located throughout the whole country.

I can show example after example of how joint production links have acquired such a character within the Soviet Union between the enterprises of the republics. This is a distinctive common market, only with more division of labor and more profound cooperation than in the European market. In our country the level of joint production and wares produced on the basis of joint production reaches 40, 60, 70 percent at the very least. This economy will not tolerate disintegrationist processes, it will reject other solutions. I do not think that the people will support taking a path toward the destruction of all of these processes, and, as it were, going against the grain.

That is one thing. Then, as far as the issue of the development of the political process and the sovereignty of the republics, the development of their cultures and languages, and the preservation of their traditions are concerned, this is what we are intending to implement within the framework of the new policy the CPSU elaborated and proposed to society, the nationalities' policy. We think that now, more and more, after the appearance of the platform on nationalities' issues, the CPSU platform, people understand that the potential for federation needs to be preserved and unfolded. This concerns all republics, including the Baltics republics. I simply say, when I am associating with representatives of the various republics, let us live in federation. We have not yet lived with it. Let us see how things develop and take shape.

If we see that something needs to be regulated, we will regulate it. If certain amendments need to be introduced, we will introduce them. If it is necessary to opt for certain new forms of ties, we will ponder that. So, generally, I look with optimism to the future of our federation. And this is not some optimism of mine which

I would like to convey in order merely, so to speak, to dispel your doubts. No, this is an optimism based on a foundation of realistic political analysis.

[Journalist in vernacular followed by Russian translation] Mister President, such a term as crisis situation is being used now with respect to the Soviet economy. You have said on several occasions that there are different viewpoints about how to get out of the crisis. What is now the essence at which these differences are directed?

[Gorbachev] You know, I would like to say the following by way of a short description of our economy. All the same, there is a contradictory picture. On one hand, the Soviet Union possesses immense possibilities. A mighty production potential has been created within the country, which we still have to utilize. For the time being, we are utilizing it poorly. The production capacities enable us, given their modernization, to proceed to resolve major tasks through application of new technology, of high, most modern technologies. The country possesses great groundwork in science and technology, and we have created priorities for the development of computer technology and for other directions connected with a breakthrough in science and technology. An educated people and immense resources—these are all potential opportunities for this economy.

On the other hand, there are crisis phenomena. They are evident. We need to get that economy going, to change it over [changes thought] to master new forms on the basis of economic reform, on the basis of developing the economic independence of enterprises, the transfer of economic power to the working people, given the coordinating role of the center at macro-level. These are our ideas. But, today there are immediate problems. These are the problems of financial recovery and balancing, normalization of the market situation. Today, it has worked out like this: We once increased the turnover of goods in a year by R10 billion or R12 billion, and that seemed a lot, and then last year we augmented the turnover of goods by R24 billion. This year, there will probably be an increase of R30 billion, and the situation in the shops as you know, is very bad. Why? Because money incomes are growing faster. This means that something in our mechanism is not working. This is precisely with what we are occupied now. Thus, we are acting simultaneously in two directions. We are elaborating a package of measures, immediate measures, on realization, on recovery of the financial state of the country and on saturation and normalization of the market situation. We are reforming ownership relations and creating preconditions for the development of leasing relations. We are thinking about reforming land relations in order to deepen the reform. So this is the way in which we will decide things. Now is the most difficult time. It is imperative that we not be frightened, and that we not retreat from the reforms and transformations under pressure of the current situation. We always aspire to bring home to our people precisely this idea. They must know this, and we are hoping for their support. I am sure that we will cope. I now have more confidence than 2 or 3 months ago, because we are coming to, have arrived at, an understanding of these processes and a real elaboration of genuinely effective measures for recovery of the situation in the economy. Well, shall we stop there?

[Journalist in vernacular followed by Russian translation] Mr President, for many years the USSR occupied a very restrained position on questions of cooperation between the countries of northern Europe. (?Have there now been) some changes in the position of your country?

[Gorbachev] Why? Do you include Finland among the northern countries? We have good commercial relations with Finland. It is second after the FRG.

[Journalist] [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] Just a minute, just a minute. I will answer part by part. With Sweden we have always had good relations and they are staying that way. Even with Norway forward movement can now be observed. I think, you know, that this is a question of mutual interest. I think that this mutual interest will grow and it is thanks to our openness. In particular, the question comes up, for example, of the problem of power engineering and the use of gas. The Finns are interested and the Swedes are interested. Most likely we will think up some other projects.

In any event I do not wish to and I cannot agree with you that we underestimated or did not wish to cooperate. There have never been any political obstacles. I think that trade and cooperation are matters of mutual interest. That means this must have been lacking somewhere. It has begun to appear. It has begun to appear, insofaras we consider all these countries our near neighbors. We have centuries behind us of living together and I hope that there are centuries ahead. One must live with one's neighbors and cooperate with them. Therefore, I do not accept your question the way you asked it.

[Journalist] [passage indistinct]

[Gorbachev] That is your mistaken idea. [laughs]

[Journalist in vernacular followed by Russian translation] Mr President, you know very well that because of historical conditions we are particularly interested in Karelia and how quickly, and in what way it would be possible to set up a special economic zone in the region of Vyborg. As far as we can tell such a zone is now being planned for the region of Leningrad.

[Gorbachev] You know, this question is in the discussion stage. I think that Karelia, as that part that is directly contiguous with Finland, will be included both in border trade and via other forms and I am sure that the prospects are good here. I do not wish now to anticipate the work of the specialists and experts. This needs further work. I think that Karelia in particular will participate in implementing the timber processing project. There are great opportunities there. It has been present all the time in our discussions.

I am pleased to have had this conversation with you. Making use of the fact that we are having this meeting I would like to ask you to convey from me the warmest wishes from the Soviet people to our neighboring peoples. Goodbye.

Gorbachev on Finland's Neutrality

LD2610212789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The 2d day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Finland is drawing to an end. Viktor Levin, our special correspondent, sums up its results:

[Levin] When the Soviet leader met with journalists one of our Finnish colleagues recalled that in the past we preferred to speak not about the neutrality of Finland but about striving toward neutrality. Doesn't the change in terminology mean a change in policy, the journalist asked. This is how Mikhail Sergeyevich replied:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] As far as the Soviet Union's position is concerned, it remains as before. I believe that it was simply necessary to return once again to this theme and to confirm it at the present stage of the development of both the pan-European and the world process. I believe that this is topical, and it was expedient to do this because we can see the increasing role of neutral and nonaligned countries, and because ahead of us lies the prospect of building a new Europe, a Europe in which people, while remaining devoted to their own choice, culture, and tradition, nevertheless cooperate and exchange the results of their work. Progress toward this kind of Europe will be a long and complex process. I believe that already in the first stage we felt that we cannot do without the constructive contribution of states such as Finland and other neutral and nonaligned states. I considered it necessary to single this out in particular. [end recording]

[Levin] All that I have to add is that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed deep satisfaction with the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Finland.

Report on Movements of Gorbachev

LD2610142989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Finland is continuing. We are linking up to Helsinki. Our special correspondent Viktor Levin reports.

[Levin] Today started with a working luncheon at which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met Prime Minister Harri Holkeri. They spoke about our economic relations, and although here in Finland all state figures and political parties support our perestroyka and wish it well, Holkeri noted that the effect of perestroyka and on the development of trade between our countries is not always only positive. This is no news for us. So, one has to remove the barriers that emerge.

Then Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, together with Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Katushev, who is a member of the Soviet delegation, visited the Finnish industrial exhibition in the (Kalasajetorpa) hotel and had a conversation there with representatives of Finnish business circles. I would like to especially note that during the visit to this exhibition the Soviet guest was accompanied by Finland's President Mauno Koivisto. The exhibition shows vividly what an important production—from consumer goods to special railway cars and personal computers—the Soviet Union receives from Finland. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit and his talks—there is full confidence in that—will invest our trade with new impulses.

In conversation at one of the stands at the exihibition, Mikhail Sergeyevich said: Proceed from the fact that our cooperation will be longterm. For businessmen such confidence has a special importance. As could be seen from a speech by (Ern Ruute), adviser for mining, Finnish business circles are confident about the future, too. He noted that the export of knowhow opens new opportunities in developing trade with the Soviet Union in the area of food industry. Finnish food industry has already delivered quite a few food processing enterprises to the Soviet Union, including to Rakvere, Riga, and Moscow. We attach exceptionally great importance to our close relations and economic cooperation, (Ern Ruut), adviser for mining, stressed.

Also today Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev met the leadership of the Finnish Center Party—so, one of the CPSU leaders had conversation with leaders of five political parties of Finland. In an interview with my colleague commentator Dmitriy Kiselev, Aleksandr Nikolayevich said that these conversations had shown that all the political forces of Finland believe in the success of perestroyka and are confident that the difficulties we are facing are transient and our restructuring measures are met with liking and support.

Also today, Comrade Vyalyas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, another member of the Soviet delegation, met Finland's Mauno Koivisto. Estonians and Finns are related peoples, they have very close links.

At the dinner in honor of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, Mauno Koivisto said: The Soviet Union is a huge multinational community, whose different parts complement one another and depend on one another. Although the very direct solutions that were applied earlier have left certain latent tension which is now being defused, there are reasons to believe in the ability of this community of peoples to solve their problems in such a way that the uniqueness of its composite parts should be strengthened whilst consolidating it as a whole. I think this is a very important and constructive idea which will be reflected in the development of current relations between the Finns and the Estonians, too.

Comrade Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee, yet another member of the Soviet delegation, had a conversation with the management of a tourist company, "Friendship Travel". The company sends thousands of people every year whilst receiving considerably few tourists from our side but this cannot be blamed on Finnish friends. Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva has a packed program for today, too. So, one can say that the visit is developing along broad lines.

Tour of Finnish Industry Exhibit

LD2710112389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Video report by Tikhomirov from the Soviet television studios in Helsinki; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Video shows participants in a meeting rising as Gorbachev enters a room with Koivisto to view an industrial exhibition. Finnish businessman making a speech on the country's economic development; Gorbachev approaches a stand dealing with the Finnish timber industry and moves on to another section dealing with workers' participation in management]

[Tikhomirov] And now the stand of Nokia, one of the country's largest radio-electronic equipment concerns. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified man, in Russian in front of a display of radio-electronic equipment] Starting next year a radiotelephone network will be operating in Moscow. Together with the Ministry of Communications, or rather, with the Moscow telephone network, we have organized a joint enterprise which will provide these services. In opening this new telephone station I would like you to tell us how it works. Let us try this telephone. [Video shows him handing cellular phone to Gorbachev]

[Gorbachev] [Video shows Gorbachev put receiver to his ear] Well, what should I say? Can you hear me? Greetings! [laughter; pause] Yes? To whom am I speaking? And where are you? [video shows Gorbachev nod in approval] Well, I greet you. Is all this serious, on a wide scale, or what? Fine! Well, until we meet in Moscow! [video shows Gorbachev handing receiver back]

[Tikhomirov] The Finnish journalist claims that this conversation was with the Soviet minister of communications. [video shows map of Kola Peninsula] And this is the Kola project. The conversation is about joint plans in the struggle for an ecological balance and the creation of joint pure technologies and the production and use of waste products of our leading Polar enterprises.

[Gorbachev] Let's hope that the ice will be broken in this enormous matter.

[Unidentified female interpreter] We have many problems and a lot of work, and I think that we will solve them together.

[Gorbachev] I think that participants will still be found to implement this project.

[Interpreter] But this is just the beginning, and we naturally believe that this is a vast project which requires the participation of many countries. Still, we hope that we will still play a considerable role, perhaps the leading role, because we are situated so close geographically. [video shows Gorbachev shaking hands with officials; O.R. Latsis, doctor of economic sciences, talking to Tikhomirov about the need to replace old technology with new to combat ecological problems; video ends with Koivisto being handed a remote control mechanism to open the door]

[Gorbachev] Thank you for letting us out.

Meeting at Industry Exhibition

LD2610204689 Moscow TASS English 2029 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Helsinki October 26 TASS—There was an interesting and substantive discussion of the development of Soviet-Finnish commercial and economic cooperation during a meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and leading Finnish businessmen here today.

President Mauno Koivisto of Finland and Prime Minister Harri Holkeri took part in the meeting. There was an exchange of opinions about the ways and possibilities of expanding commercial and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The meeting took place at the exhibition of Finnish industry. The exhibition reflects Finland's achievements in production and processing of agricultural products, in forestry and the metalworking industry, computing equipment, environmental protection.

Official negotiations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Mauno Koivisto with the participation of members of the delegations were continued in the presidential palace in the afternoon.

Upon their conclusion, the Soviet-Finnish declaration "New Thinking in Action" was signed by the leaders of the two countries in a ceremony in the state hall of the palace.

Representatives of the sides also signed intergovernmental memorandums on the foundation of the House of Finland in the Soviet capital, on the simplification of the issuing of visas, an agreement on trade and payments for 1991-1995, a protocol on cooperation in the Kola Peninsula, a treaty on welfare, programmes of interaction in environmental protection and tourism, documents of the setting up of joint ventures.

The speech delviered by the Soviet president in Finlandia Palace before members of the government and parliament, representatives of political parties, of Finnish cultural, public and business circles was one of the most important events of the day.

In his speech Gorbachev gave particular attention to bilateral relations, development of the European process, disarmament problems, expansion of economic cooperation in Europe, environmental protection.

Gorbachev Wraps Up Talks, Concludes Visit 27 Oct

Visit to Parliament

LD2710085989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Today the visit to Finland by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev concludes. Our special correspondent, Viktor Levin, reports:

[Levin] The program for today, the last day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's stay in Finland, has undergone significant changes in comparison with the first outlines of the program. Let us start with the fact that the departure from Helsinki for the town of Oulu is being postponed until an hour later. This has been caused by the fact that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will visit this morning the Finnish parliament. This is not only of protocol significance, but is also of very great political significance. The official ceremony in front of the president's palace, the ceremony of departure, for seeing off the soviet guest, will then take place. After this he will fly by special plane to the town of Oulu. During his visit to Oulu, a visit to the town hall and a technology village as well as a conversation with University of Oulu professors, teachers, and students are planned. At 1600 [1400 GMT] local time, it will be 1700 in Moscow; Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will fly home directly from Oulu to Moscow. [passage omitted]

Meets Business Community

LD2710090689 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Helsinki October 27 TASS—Today is the third and concluding day of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Finland.

Following a send-off ceremony outside the presidential palace, the Soviet president will leave Helsinki by air for the City of Oulu where he will visit the 'technology park' and familiarise himself with the latest technological achievements.

Gorbachev's meeting with leading members of the Finnish business community on Thursday developed into an interesting and substantive discussion of Soviet-Finnish trade and economic relations.

The meeting was attended by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto and Prime Minister Harri Holkeri.

There was an exchange of views on ways and possibilities to broaden trade and economic cooperation between the two countries.

The meeting took place at the Finnish industry exhibition featuring advances in such fields as the output and processing of farm produce, the timber and metalworking industries, computing engineering, and environmental protection.

Official talks between Gorbachev and Koivisto with the participation of members of the delegations continued in the presidential palace of Thursday afternoon.

At the close of the talks the two presidents signed a declaration entitled "new thinking in action" during a ceremony in the state hall of the palace.

Representatives of the two sides also signed an intergovernmental memoranda on the institution of a house of Finland in Moscow and on the streamlining of visa issuing procedures, and a trade and payments agreement for 1991-1995.

A protocol on cooperation on the Kola Peninsula, a treaty on social maintenance, programmes for cooperation in the fields of environmental protection and tourism, and documents on the establishment of joint ventures were also signed.

The Soviet president's speech in the Finland palace before the members of the parliament and government and representatives of political parties, cultural, social and business circles of the country was one of the major events on Thursday.

In his speech Gorbachev devoted attention to bilateral relations, the development of the CSCE process, disarmament issues, the expansion of economic cooperation on the continent, and environmental protection.

Departure for Oulu

LD2710095389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0930 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Helsinki 27 Oct (TASS)—Today is the final day of the official visit to Finland by Mikhail Gorbachev, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. A festive ceremony to see off the head of the Soviet state and his spouse has taken place at the Kauppatori Sqaure, in front of the residence of the president of the Finnish Republic. Highest military honors were paid to Mikhail Gorbachev; a guard of honor was formed at the square. Both countries' anthems were played. The Soviet leader and Finnish President Mauno Koivisto inspected the ranks of the guard of honor. Mikhail Gorbachev and his spouse were greeted by the residents of the Finnish capital who have gathered at the square. From Helsinki the Soviet guests departed for Oulu, a major economic and scientific center in the northern part of the country. Mauno Koivisto and his spouse are accompanying them on the trip.

Earlier in the day the head of the Soviet state visited the Finnish parliament. He spoke with Kaleva Sorsa, speaker of the parliament, who described the main goals of the work of the country's highest legislative body, its committees and commissions.

Arrival in Oulu

LD2710113189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Today is the final day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Finland. [passage omitted]

From Helsinki, the Soviet guest has arrived in Oulu, a major economic and scientific center in the north of the country. Mauno Koivisto and his wife are accompanying them on the trip.

End of Visit, Departure for Moscow

LD2710142189 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Oulu October 27 TASS—Mikhail Gorbechev left for home today after completing his official visit to Finland in this town in the north of the country.

The Soviet president and his wife were seen off at the airport by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto and his wife.

PRAVDA Publishes Finnish-Soviet Declaration

PM2710090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition 27 Oct 89 p 1

["Soviet-Finnish Declaration—The New Thinking in Action"]

[Text] Finland, a neutral, North European, non-nuclear state which actively participates in the activities of the United Nations organization and in the process of the strengthening of security and cooperation in Europe, and

The Soviet Union, a Euro-Asiatic state which possesses nuclear weapons and which is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a member of the Warsaw Pact,

—proceeding from the fact that at the present the prerequisites for a decisive improvement in European and international relations and for the consistent construction of a more just and democratic world, free from nuclear weapons and violence, are taking shape,

—striving commensurate with their opportunities, roles, and responsibilities by specific deeds in the spirit of new thinking, elaborating and implementing new ideas, to aid the formation of such a world,

—confirming their resoluteness to follow the spirit and letter of the UN Charter, the CSCE Final Act, and the decisions of the subsequent forums of the CSCE,

—relying on the experience of good-neighborliness and interaction, accumulated during the decades of the functioning of the 1948 Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual assistance,

—taking into account the specific nature of the situation of each country and its foreign policies and the differences in their sociopolitical structures, ideological values, and specific national characteristics, and convinced that these differences present no obstacle to constructive foreign policy activities,

—wishing to build a better future,

—declare their resolve to inculcate in European and international practice the following principles and priorities.

In the Political Sphere

—Active participation in shaping a world free of violence and intimidation, inequality and persecution, discrimination and interference in internal affairs. All disputes, including regional conflicts, must be resolved only by peaceful means and by political methods. No one must strengthen his security at the expense of others. There can be no justificaiton for any use of force: whether by one military-political alliance against another, or within such alliances, or against neutral countries by any side. Joint security requires the dismantling of military confrontation.

—Unconditional respect for the principle of freedom of sociopolitical choice, deideologizing and humanizing of relations among states, subordination of foreign-political activity to international law, and supremacy of universally human interests and values.

—Provision of international security by means of gradual nuclear disarmament with reliable political and legal guarantees and strict regard for the interests of all states. These efforts must include the specifying, without delay, of concrete parameters of minimum nuclear deterrence, including tactical nuclear weapons, as one of the intermediate stages toward this.

—The achievement of agreement, as soon as possible, on a 50-percent reduction of the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and United States, the total and universal banning of chemical weapons, and the cessation of nuclear tests.

—Reduction by the member states of the military alliances of their conventional armed forces in Europe, which would effectively remove their ability to launch a sudden attack and large-scale offensive operations, reduction of these forces to a level of reasonable sufficiency for defense. All manner of assistance for the adoption at the Vienna talks in 1990 of large-scale accords which could be put on record at summit level.

—The speedy drafting of a qualitatively new generation of measures to strengthen trust and security in Europe and to widen the sphere of their operation.

—The shaping of a ramified system of reliable monitoring [kontrol] of disarmament processes.

—A global policy of openness [otkrytost], extending to air, land, sea, and space, and conducive to comprehensive international security.

In the Economic Sphere

—The equal and unhindered interaction of economic systems and integration processes on the basis of broad commercial and economic, scientific and technical, and industrial cooperation aimed at more effective joint use of the material resources and intellectual potential of European and other countries. The improvement of the opportunities of all countries to participate in the work of international economic organizations and financial institutions, such as GATT, IMF, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The prevention of the deepening of differences in the levels of economic development by means of promoting balanced economic growth. The solution of problems connected with the use of natural resources taking account of the development interests of various countries and with the aim of improving the quality of life.

In the Ecological Sphere

—Revival of the harmony between man and nature. The creation of a healthier environment for human habitation via the combining of scientific and technical progress with the improvement of the global and regional ecosystems.

—Promotion of an environmentally stable economic development, the creation of nature-protecting technologies and the exchange of these as a common obligation of all states, the financing of nature- protection measures on an international basis where necessary. During political and economic decisionmaking at global, regional and national levels it is necessary to take into account the interests of environmental protection.

—Fuller use of the opportunities of the United Nations and its economic commission for Europe in the interests of solving the general problems of the environment. Among these problems, those requiring the most urgent measures are unfavorable alterations to the atmosphere and air pollution. Efforts should be made to ensure that substantial results are achieved in 1992 at the UN conference on the environment and development.

—Preservation and restoration of the purity of territorial ecosystems, development of international cooperation in protecting the environment in the Arctic, ecological regeneration of the Baltic Sea.

[Text]

In the Humanitarian Sphere

—The provision everywhere and in full measure of human rights and basic freedoms secured at the international level as the yardstick of states' political practice. The dynamic implementation of the concept of the human dimension of the Helsinki process and the imbuing of it with a new quality at the all-European humanitarian conference, whose next stages will take place in Copenhagen in 1990 and in Moscow in 1991.

—An unhindered and open exchange of people, ideas, and information, spiritual and cultural values and experience in socioeconomic and political development with the aim of overcoming inert stereotypes of thinking and of the image of the enemy which is a relic from the past, not allowing its rebirth, and replacing it in the consciousness of the generations and above all of young people with the image of a partner.

—The harmonization of the internal legislation, administrative rules and practices of states with their international obligations.

—Respect for the free implementation of the rights of national minorities and ensuring their full equality with others without discrimination.

—The strengthening of the parliamentary dimension of the common European dialogue, the activation of contacts, among parliamentarians, the mutual exploitation of the experience of bodies of people's power, including within the framework of such organizations as the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, the Nordic Council, and the encouragement of broad European contacts among various social circles.

—An energetic struggle against the dangers which do not have national boundaries including international terrorism, crime, drug addiction, and epidemics.

—Promotion and deepening of the Helsinki process as a whole on both a conceptual and practical level, the gradual movement toward a single europe—a Europe of law-based states, a Europe of trust, a Europe of harmony, openness and stability, not shut in on itself but facing outward toward all the continents.

—The convocation of a new conference of representatives of the states participating in the CSCE in connection with holding an all- European meeting in Helsinki in 1992.

Finland and the Soviet Union will build their international policies, their interaction in the interests of peace and their good-neighborliness and cooperation on the basis of the present declaration. They call other countries and peoples to this as well.

[Dated] Helsinki, 26 October 1989.
[Signed] Mauno Koivisto
M.S. Gorbachev

Yakovlev, Finnish Officials Discuss Ties, Ecology

LD2610155289 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Helsinki October 26 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet

Communist Party Central Committee, met here today with the leadership of the Finland Centre Party in connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to this country.

The following Finnish officials took part in the meeting:
Paavo Vaeyrynen, chairman of the centre party,
Martti Pura, Olli Renom, deputy chairman
Seppo Kaeaeriaenen, general secretary,
Kauko Juhantalo, chairman of the parliamentary group,
O. Mattila, head of the party's international department.

Both sides pointed to the successful development of Soviet-Finnish relations and discussed their prospects in the light of the current official visit.

They stressed the importance of the ecological aspect in bilateral cooperation and in a broader international perspective.

The meeting's participants stated satisfaction with the positive trends that currently determine the political climate in Europe.

Yakovlev described the course of perestroyka in Soviet society.

The sides also examined issues related to contacts between the Soviet Communist Party and the Centre Party.

Yakovlev Queried on Links With Western Parties

LD2610181689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and member of the Soviet delegation in Helsinki, has granted an interview to a correspondent of State Television and Radio.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified Correspondent] In your view, could one assert that there is some agreement between Finland's foremost political forces in their evaluation of perestroyka?

[Yakovlev] From my latest meetings with representatives of Western parties of very varied political hues, and specifically from my meetings here—I have already had five such meetings with the leadership of five Finnish parties—one could, perhaps, draw an interesting conclusion, on the whole, for us, for our country, too. I have in mind their belief that our perestroyka will succeed, that it will advance, that the difficulties as we are experiencing now are the difficulties of a transitional period and that, by and large, they are even unavoidable when a whole system of relations, social relations in the country, is undergoing thorough changes.

The fact that there is, in fact, no opposition in views regarding perestroyka is attracting attention. From left to right they are all unanimous in the view that, on the whole, perestroyka is meeting the challenges of time which all the countries in the world have encountered, including the Soviet Union, although it has a specific character, of course, which is perhaps rather different from that needed to meet these challenges in other countries. But, on the whole, human development makes the same demands of every country, every nation, every society, and every system. From this view point, one could notice an unambiguous interpretation of events; and within this context our restructuring reforms are being met with very serious understanding, liking, and support. I believe that this gives us, or should give us, a certain amount of social optimism, if you like.

You know, both the Liberal International and the Democratic Alliance—this is a grouping,, or an association, of conservative parties of the world—want to establish business relations with us—I mean with our party, now—and it appears that such meetings will take place in the near future.

I do not even mention the invigoration of our relations with the social democratic spectrum of European, and not only European, parties. There is now increasing talk in Europe to the effect that a conference, meeting, or assembly of leftwing forces should be convened—in other words, of those who represent the interests of the European working class and working people—in order to coordinate in some way their efforts in the new conditions. Here we are talking about all the communist parties, socialist parties, social democraic parties, and others which align themselves on the left flank.

I think that here too we have certain possibilities in Europe, for promoting the creation of an all-European home, a home of cooperation and mutual understanding from this flank, too. [end recording]

Yakovlev on Relations With Finland, Perestroyka

LD2610215489 Moscow TASS in English 2017 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Helsinki October 26 TASS—TASS asked Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, to state his views on the development of Soviet-Finnish relations in light of perestroyka in the USSR.

Yakovlev said that similar questions were put to him several years ago. Those qustions were meant reproachfully. He was asked whether the Soviet Union wanted to Finlandise all of Europe.

These questions, specifically the reference to "Finlandisation," implied irony and hinted at imperial aspirations, at some abnormality in relations.

But during perestroyka it became obvious that relations between the Soviet Union and Finland could serve as a very interesting model for the construction of a common European home. Many elements of these relations can be used, such as the experience that has already been gained, Yakovlev said.

If conversations in Europe and in other places are closely studied now, it will become apparent that "Finlandisation" no longer has any negative connotations.

It is used in a positive sense. On the whole, many European countries would not mind establishing relations with the Soviet Union patterned on Soviet-Finnish relations, Yakovlev said.

He said he believes this fact shows a very interesting change in public conscience as well as in practical relations and processes now taking place in Europe, from the viewpoint of multilateral and bilateral relations.

Asked how he appraises the course of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit and negotiations, Yakovlev said:

"I believe it is a very successful visit. A large number of agreements are to be signed this evening.

"I commend the declaration of relations between the two countries. It is the first time such a declaration has been signed between the Soviet Union and its neighbour.

"There has already been a similar declaration in spirit—the Delhi declaration. However, the declaration of Soviet-Finish relations goes much further.

"I think this document might serve as a prototype, in regard to concepts and the approach used, for drawing up such documents with other countries. It reflects the spirit of today."

Finland's Sorsa Views Common European Home

PM2510124589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with Kalevi Sorsa, speaker of the Finnish Parliament, by own correspondent V. Shmyganovskiy: "Europe Is Our Common Home. K. Sorsa Reflects on Its Present and Future"—first three paragraphs are introduction; date of interview not given]

[Text] Helsinki—According to the Constitution, Kalevi Sorsa, speaker of the Finnish parliament, is the number two person in the state after the republic's president. A very experienced politician, he has headed the country's government four times and has twice been foreign minister.

Receiving me in his office in parliament on the eve of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Finland, Sorsa himself determined the subject of the conversation:

"Let's talk about the common European home, the idea of building which was first formulated by the Soviet leader. Naturally, I would like to set out not only my country's positions, but also something of my own personal opinions."

[Shmyganovskiy] Fine, Mr Speaker. Let us begin with terms. Frankly, didn't the call to build such a "home" at first seem to you somewhat impossible?

[Sorsa] In any case Gorbachev's idea was quite unexpected. In addition, the word "home" was translated into Finnish in the sense of "domestic hearth." Well, it sounds attractive, I thought. But when I remembered that the "members of the family" had lived for many centuries in this home—on our continent—while constantly fighting among themselves, the idea seemed too idealistic.

But M.S. Gorbachev sensitively captured the trend toward changes for the better. A process of cooperation which was given a particular boost by the "Helsinki process" begun in 1975 is really being set up in Europe. The continent which for a long time was the center of world politics is being transformed economically and spiritually. The creation of a "united Europe" in the West, perestroyka in the USSR, and the rapid changes in Poland and Hungary... Now everyone, including small countries, can see that Europe's future is increasingly decisively also our common cause.

I think that the term should nonetheless be understood not as "domestic hearth," but as an edifice which the European peoples can and must erect.

[Shmyganovskiy] The question arises: How should the contours of this building be outlined?

[Sorsa] Speaking in Hamburg 10 years ago, President U.K. Kekkonen said: "I noticed that in the central and Western part of our continent 'Europe' is understood only as the Western part. This concept shapes a certain thinking and line of action."

How many changes have taken place in these years, and you still hear about the "Europe of Brussels," where the EEC headquarters are located. But Finland is more disposed toward the concept of a Europe stretching from the Atlantic to the Urals.

[Shmyganovskiy] In your view, do sufficient political will and the conditions for building a common European home exist in this area?

[Sorsa] Undoubtedly, at any rate, to a far greater extent than a few years ago. There is a readiness to think in the new way and to jettison prejudices. Doubts and distrust have noticeably decreased—particularly as a consequence of the practical moves on questions of disarmament. Trust is growing. All this has taken place and is taking place on both sides, which are still divided into military blocs, in Europe. In other words, such a favorable atmosphere has emerged that the chance simply cannot be allowed to slip by.

[Shmyganovskiy] How do you see the Europe of the future?

[Sorsa] Having preserved its great wealth of cultural traditions and economically prosperous. It will also be a safer Europe. Further, it seems to me that the voice not only of each country, even the smallest, but also of each person must be heard in the common European home. His living conditions and rights are the measure of success. For each individual citizen the principles of peace, security, and cooperation must not remain abstractions, but become realities of everyday life. This is what can be called the "human dimension" of the highly important political process that the building of the common European home constitutes. The interests of the inhabitants of each European "apartment" also demand this.

The forthcoming visit arouses great interest not only in Finland, but also, if I am not mistaken, in all the northern countries. The initiatives put forward by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet on questions of European policy have always been seen in our region from their northern angle, so to speak. Putting it more simply, we are all concerned with the question: What corner in the future common European home is assigned to the northern countries, from the Soviet viewpoint? I would like to stress that these countries have long-standing close historical ties with the Soviet Union and its peoples.

[Shmyganovskiy] In an article published in IZVESTIYA the proposition was expressed that, so to speak, the northern facade of the common European home could long be said to have been in place.

[Sorsa] I would very much like to hope that the level of relations reached among Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Finland and Sweden and the natural spirit of their cooperation will gradually spread beyond the region's boundaries. This cooperation completely lacks any kind of dramatic character. First, take the daily mutual contact without borders. Second, the implementation of reciprocal projects not only at government level, but also among ordinary citizens and public organizations. Third, the cooperation among politicians of all five countries. There are no mutual recriminations or stormy cataclysms in their dialogue, and I think this is good. I call this cooperation as natural as breathing, because it takes place continuously, without an uproar and loud headlines in the newspapers.

[Shmyganovskiy] How, in your opinion, should we start laying the foundation of the common European home?

[Sorsa] First and foremost—by protecting the environment! Yes, today our attention must be focused on policy in the ecological sphere. And I shall not be exaggerating if I say that the Finnish people will pay particular attention to the statements by the lofty Soviet guest on these problems, particularly on the development of bilateral cooperation in environmental protection.

In his Murmansk speech Gorbachev, as is known, made a proposal for the protection of the environment in the Arctic region. We for our part have already done a great deal to implement this proposal. After the preliminary meeting in Rovaniemi an international conference will soon be held with the participation of all interested states. We are hoping that an agreement will be signed which will determine the Arctic's future for many years. As President Mauno Koivisto noted in one of his speeches, victory over the common enemy threatening nature on the planet depends on us. He said: "Let us Europeans be the pioneers..." For the present the first steps have been taken to prevent the cross-border movement of substances polluting the sea areas adjoining Europe. But all this is just the beginning.

The second point with which all countries and peoples must agree are the measures necessary to strengthen security on the continent. Helsinki immediately supported the idea expressed in Murmansk about turning the North into a zone of peace and cooperation.

[Shmyganovskiy] You sometimes hear it said that the reduction in Soviet-Finnish trade which has occurred in recent years to some extent deprives our good-neighborliness of firm prospects. You, Mr Speaker, know our country better than many others. How, in your opinion, is new dynamism possible in the development of Soviet-Finnish relations?

[Sorsa] We are the Soviet Union's closest neighbors in the common European home and at the same time to a considerable extent we have often helped the USSR to build bridges with the West. This is Finland's special, one could say unique, role: while adhering to a policy of neutrality, to help bring together rather than disunite the peoples.

As for our ties and cooperation, it is permissible to ask: What does "dynamism" mean? Our relations are very good, there are problems only in the economic sphere, but they are caused more by international factors than by the processes taking place in the two countries. I think that as perestroyka in the USSR is implemented so activity in the trade and economic sphere will also increase. As for our political relations, they are noted for their dynamism even today. This will certainly be confirmed during Gorbachev's visit.

Finnish Trade Minister on Gorbachev Visit

PM2610135789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent Yu. Subbotin report on interview with Finnish Foreign Trade Minister Pertti Salolainen in Helsinki: "New Stage of Businesslike Cooperation"—no date of interview given]

[Text] And so, the visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to Finland begins today.

"He is a long-awaited visitor," Finnish Foreign Trade Minister Pertti Salolainen said in a conversation with your correspondent. "I am convinced that the visit will be very productive."

In the minister's opinion, this summit meeting should become the logical extension of the good traditions in relations between two neighboring countries linked by firm historical, cultural, and economic ties. As regards economic ties, people here expect the visit by the Soviet head of state to give a fresh impulse to their development. M.S. Gorbachev's scheduled meeting with representatives of the Confederation of Finnish Industry is one of the visit's main events.

Indeed, trade and economic relations between our countries appear natural and mutually advantageous. Our common border, which runs for 1,300 km, is quite an important factor. The identical railroad gage also favors reciprocal exchanges. Matters have developed so that Finland receives almost all its energy sources—oil, goal, and gas—from the Soviet Union, while it can sell in the USSR many goods which are not all that easily marketable in the West.

Nonetheless, certain problems do exist in this sphere of Soviet-Finnish relations. Trade between our countries is built on a bilateral basis using the clearing method of settlement, which means that certain "hiccups" are at times inevitable in reciprocal indebtedness as a result of world price fluctuations.

Back in the early eighties, for example, rising world oil prices produced a substantial imbalance in Soviet-Finnish trade in the USSR's favor. At that time, in the interests of stabilization, the Soviet Union undertook to substantially increase imports of Finnish goods, some of which were probably not prime necessities. The USSR's share of Finland's foreign trade reached its highest level at that time, accounting for 25 percent.

The situation is now reversed. The fall in world prices for oil and oil products, which still dominate Soviet exports to Finland, has resulted in the value of exports lagging behind imports. Consequently the USSR, which held top position in Finland's foreign trade for several decades, has fallen to third place, behind the FRG and Sweden, in terms of total export and import.

But the system of trade and economic relations between our countries is beginning to change now. A credit system will be used in reciprocal settlements in the future, and payments will be made in convertible currencies. This method was applied only on a limited basis in the past. The structure of commodity turnover is also being transformed: In addition to oil, Soviet partners would like to offer more machines and equipment.

Much will depend, Pertti Salolainen believes, on the speed of the renewal processes in the USSR. It is, of course, impossible to fully abandon the clearing system all at once. It must be adapted to the contemporary situation.

The foreign trade minister perceives as promising a new form of cooperation—the creation of joint Soviet-Finnish enterprises. There are already more than 100 of them at present but, if truth be said, they are still on a small scale. Apart from anything else, they would make it possible to jointly enter third markets.

"But," Pertti Salolainen emphasized, "the Soviet Union must without fail create and expand the necessary prerequisites for successful operation by these enterprises. I mean primarily the modernization of the entire Soviet economy."

Pertti Salolainen also singled out ecological problems as one of the most important spheres of Soviet-Finnish cooperation. After all, pollution of the environment unfortunately does not recognize state borders and joint efforts are needed to combat it. Such efforts, the minister believes, are needed primarily to protect the Baltic Sea and nature in the polar region which is worst affected by destructive effects.

Thus, the atmosphere of the visit which is about to begin promises to be not only warm and friendly but also highly businesslike. New agreements are due to be signed in various spheres of bilateral cooperation.

Preparations for the visit are complete. An international press center opened in the "Finlandia" Palace. It is also the venue for an exhibition organized by APN and depicting our country's present. Members of the Soviet group of experts hold press conferences and give numerous interviews to Finnish and foreign mass media. Helsinki awaits the distinguished guest's arrival.

Gorbachev, Papal Legate Meet, Discuss Lebanon

PM2310082789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report on the 20 October meeting in the Kremlin between M.S. Gorbachev and the papal legate: "M.S. Gorbachev Receives A. Sodano"]

[Text] On 20 October Mikhail Gorbachev received in the Kremlin Archbishop Angelo Sodano, who has arrived in Moscow under the direction of Pope John Paul II. The archbishop conveyed a message from the Pope on the situation in the Lebanon.

Mikhail Gorbachev informed the papal representative about the very latest bilateral and multilateral undertakings by the Soviet leadership for a political settlement of the conflict which has resulted in so many Lebanese victims and has led to the destruction of the country. He confirmed the immutable position of the Soviet Union, which is in favor of the rebirth of Lebanon as an independent, sovereign, integral, and flourishing state.

Mikhail Gorbachev asked that it be conveyed to the pope that the wishes expressed in his message will be taken into account in the further efforts to assist in the search for a solution to the Lebanese problem.

A brief exchange of opinions took place in connection with the exchange of messages of a conceptual nature which had occurred earlier between Mikhail Gorbachev and John Paul II. The growing mutual understanding, which has already found reflection in practice, too, was noted with satisfaction.

The Archbishop, at the behest of the Pope, suggested possible concrete forms of intensification of the contacts between the Vatican and the Soviet state, and expressed ideas on certain problems connected with satisfying the religious needs of Soviet citizens of Catholic faith.

Mikhail Gorbachev paid attention to the issues raised on behalf of the Holy See. He shared his evaluations of the religious situation in the country in conditions of the vigorous activization of public awareness at the current, particularly complex stage of restructuring. The Soviet state is interested in establishing good, respectful relations between believers and non-believers, and between the various churches and religions which exist in our country. Much depends here on wisdom and responsibility on the part of the religious authorities. Mikhail Gorbachev drew attention to the importance of dynamization and improvement of relations between the Russian Orthodox and Catholic Churches.

Insofar as a meeting of His Holiness the Pope and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet is, as I understand, upcoming, you may convey, said Mikhail Gorbachev, that for my part I possess such a desire and hope to have a conversation about peace, about the common home in which we live, and about our common responsibility for its destiny, and also to discuss the most substantial specific issues.

Shevardnadze Receives Papal Representative

LD2010175589 Moscow TASS in English 1713 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze received Archbishop Angelo Sodano, secretary of the Vatican Council for the Public Affairs of the Church. The archbishop is in the Soviet Union as the personal representative of Pope John Paul the Second.

The interlocutors developed ideas that were expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev when he met Vatican representatives. Both sides want to take full advantage of the possibilities offered by the growing understanding and interaction between the USSR and the Vatican.

This interaction is part of a European process. They hope to work together to help resolve the global problems on which mankind's very existence depends.

The situation in Lebanon was discussed in detail. It was noted that there are still reasons for concern, although encouraging signs, above all the ceasefire have lately appeared.

Both sides welcomed initiatives by the Trilateral Committee of the League of Arab States aimed to achieve by political means resolutions that would ensure a peaceful and stable development of Lebanon as a sovereign and integral state. A fair and durable settlement in the Middle East could then be achieved.

Archbishop Angelo Sodano noted that the new Soviet political approaches meet with the Vatican's understanding and support. These approaches emphasize to an ever greater extent the principles of humanism in the Soviet Union's domestic and foreign policy.

Archbishop Angelo Sodano touched upon a number of questions about the activity of the Catholic Church in the Soviet Union. Shevardnadze replied that the vigorous process of shaping a law-governed state is under way in the Soviet Union. The law on freedom of conscience and religious organizations is to be adopted as part of this process.

The bill will be submitted for the discussion of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Questions related to the activity of various religious organisations in the USSR territory will be regulated by that law. In addition, the obligations the Soviet Union assumed under the Helsinki and Vienna agreements will be observed.

Mutual interest was expressed in the continuation of contacts and in the development of a direct political dialogue between the Soviet Union and the Vatican.

Latin America & Caribbean

Local TASS Chief Cited on Attack on Lima Embassy

PM2710105789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Telephone interview with Vladimir Kotov, head of the TASS department in Peru, by own correspondent Yevgeniy Bay: "Explosions Outside Embassies Rend the Air"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] On the morning of 26 October the editorial office received telegrams from REUTERS and AFP from the Peruvian capital, which said that bombs had gone off the day before outside the Soviet and PRC embassies in Lima. Our correspondent Yevgeniy Bay contacted Vladimir Kotov, head of the TASS department in Peru, by telephone and asked him for the details.

[Kotov] According to the police, unidentified persons drove up to the Soviet embassy building and planted a bomb under a car belonging to one of our diplomatic personnel. They hardly had time to drive off before an explosion rang out. One car was totally destroyed and three neighboring vehicles were damaged. This happened at 2015 local time. And at 2030 hours a Volkswagen parked near the entrance of the PRC embassy exploded after being packed with dynamite.

Fortunately, there are no casualties and no members of the diplomatic missions are hurt. The buildings are not really damaged.

[Bay] So far, according to the information agencies, none of the terrorist groups operating in the country have taken responsibility for this action, although the police suspect the extreme left-wing Maoist organization, "Sendero Luminoso."

[Kotov] Judging by the hallmark, it could quite well be. As is well known, "Sendero Luminoso" [Shining Path] has carried out several attacks on Soviet missions and our citizens in the last 3 years. Many remember the incident when four unidentified people telephoned the Soviet embassy—allegedly to deliver some sort of package. In the end, one of the terrorists got into the embassy grounds and, at that moment, the "package" exploded in his hands. And several months ago (IZVESTIYA reported this) terrorists planted a bomb under a bus in which Soviet fishermen were traveling.

[Bay] An extension of the state of emergency in the country has been announced in connection with the escalation in terrorist actions. How does the situation in the country look from where you stand?

[Kotov] The state of emergency was introduced here in February 1986 and has been extended virtually every 30-60 days since then. It is in effect in 35 percent of the country's territory, particularly in Lima and the capitals of a number of departments. However, the wave of terrorism is showing no sign of abating—either on the part of the far right or the far left. In October alone, their actions claimed 200 lives.

"Sendero Luminoso" is trying to intimidate the population and wreck the municipal elections planned for 12 November. They have partially achieved their aim. To the uninformed, Peruvian statistics are simply horrifying: In the last 3 years, 64 mayors of various small and medium-sized towns in the Andes have been killed. Naturally, there are few brave enough to take the risk of holding this post.

[Bay] What kind of conditions are Soviet representatives in Peru living and working in?

[Kotov] So far there have been no restrictions on our freedom of movement. However, the escalation of terrorism naturally affects our wellbeing. People live in a state of tension. You expect something awful to happen at any moment. You have to show the maximum caution everywhere: both at home and on the street.

Soviet Yachtsman's Suicide in Uruguay Questioned

PM2010094189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by journalist V. Lukyanchenko, member of the Kiev Yacht Club: "Returning to a Previous Article. Doubts about the Official Story"]

[Text] Kiev—Friends of the Soviet yachtsman Aleksey Grishchenko, whose mysterious death in Uruguay was reported in IZVESTIYA (No. 286), sent letters to P. Osipenko, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic prosecutor; A. Sukharev, USSR general prosecutor; and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In their statement the captains write that they doubt the authenticity of the stated story that their comrade of many years standing from the Kiev Cruiser Yacht Club committed suicide, and they ask that a criminal investigation be carried out in connection with Grishchenko's death in order to ascertain the circumstances and causes of his death.

On what do these experienced yachtsmen—many of whom knew Aleksey for 20 years—base their suspicions? In the unanimous opinion of those who frequently participated in exhausting nautical races with him, such a strong, wholehearted, and robust man, who did not give in to passing weaknesses and moods, as was Aleksey Grishchenko, the captain of the yacht "Fazizi," could not depart from life in such a way.

His friends stress Aleksey's great psychological stability and his ability not to overreact to small problems or run away from serious ones. And they stress that such a man could not willingly surrender his life even in a moment of mental crisis, which is how the newspaper reports present it.

And Aleksey Grishchenko's comrades reported another important circumstance. In his childhood he had an illness whose after-effect was that his legs were weak; he could not run or climb trees. Therefore, he was unable to climb up the tree where he was found without help...

Supreme Soviet Session

Constitutional Amendments Debate Ends 24 Oct

PM2610135989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by IZVESTIYA parliamentary correspondents A. Davydov, V. Dolganov, V. Romanyuk, and A. Stepovoy on the USSR Supreme Soviet Second Session 24 October plenary sitting: "What the Elections Will Be Like"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Part two of Article 95 gave rise to the keenest debates. Born in the process of preliminary discussion at the conference of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the chairmen of all committees and commissions, it read as follows: "With a view to ensuring the representation of public organizations, a proportion of the USSR people's deputies and a proportion of the people's deputies of the union and autonomous republics, if stipulated by the republics' constitutions, can be elected from public organizations."

Yu.Kh. Kalmykov considered one of the adopted formula's merits to be that it allows the republics themselves to decide whether or not to hold elections from the public organizations. On the other hand it does not affect the powers of the deputies now operating. It cannot be said that this explanation placated the passions which had flared up during the discussion of the preceding amendments to the USSR Constitution. People's deputies A.A. Zgerskaya (Yaroshinskaya), V.I. Samarin, A.S. Yezhelev, S.Ya. Naumov, and others rejected the proposed draft. Here they stressed that this attitude toward the election of deputies from public organizations is determined by the opinion of the overwhelming majority of voters who protest not simply against the principle but also against the form in which the elections are held—not from rank and file members of these organizations but from the "plenary ruling clique."

People insist, many people's deputies said, that the elections be universal, direct, and secret. All candidates—the opponents of elections from public organizations insisted on this particularly—should pass through the crucible of the election struggle in the national-territorial or territorial okrugs. The nomination of candidates from public organizations with their election "on a general basis" is another matter.

During the discussion a delicate question arose repeatedly: Does the repeal of elections from public organizations not cast a shadow on the powers of the USSR people's deputies now operating, who make up one-third of our deputy corps? Perhaps it is worth restricting ourselves to repealing such elections in the republics? And although many of those taking part in the debate said that the law has no retroactive force and that the deputies' mandates are not liable to revision (although ideas of this kind were also heard) a certain absurdity and ambiguity about the situation was felt. The dispute was aggravated by People's Deputy A.D. Sakharov, who said that although he himself had been elected from a public organization, he resolutely supports the opponents of this practice. He is even prepared to go through a new round of elections if the Congress casts doubt on his powers.

A.I. Lukyanov, who was in the chair, explained that elections from public corporations and various strata and groups are accepted in world practice. But People's Deputy S.B. Stankevich objected that the Western countries' practice is by no means grounds for restricting the democratic nature of elections in our country. In addition equality is not violated when elections from public organizations are declared but when a narrow elite group is singled out from among them and is even assured numerical superiority of representation. In his opinion the principle of equality is also violated because elections are held at narrow plenums and not at expanded conferences.

The supporters of the practice which has already been verified also had their arguments. Deputy A.N. Krayko stated: If it were not for the elections from the public organizations parliament would lack many active supporters of perestroyka and many committee and commission members. Deputy Yu.I. Borodin reported that he is a supporter of elections from public organizations because the revolutionary transformations have demanded the participation and mobilization of all forces of perestroyka which have gathered in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Now for those who were seeking a consensus and defending an intermediate decision. Deputy I.O. Bisher justified the need for representatives of all public movements to take part in the supreme organs of power but on condition that they are elected in the okrugs. Ultimately he believes the republics themselves must resolve this question. Deputy A.G. Mukhtarov refuted the opinion that it is extremely simple to be elected from public organizations. Selection there is very tough, he said, you only have to recall that nearly 10 times as many candidates staked a claim to the 10 seats in the USSR Journalists Union.

Deputy Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, called for diktat to be avoided with regard to the republics. Let them resolve the complex question on the basis of their own electoral legislation. And Deputy F.M. Burlatskiy expressed himself in favor of not imposing elections from public organizations on the republics because this could introduce a destabilizing element to the republics' lives. In the opinion of Deputy Yu.Yu. Boldyrev, such a principled question should not be handed over for examination in the republics. The destiny of the transformations in society depends on the situation in many regions. But far from everywhere is the politicization of public opinion keeping up with the pace of this process in the regions and republics which lead in this respect. In Yu.Yu. Boldyrev's view the Supreme Soviet must make known its position on the question of elections from the public organizations.

Passions were heated. Deputy S.S. Sulakshin even rebuked the chairman for commenting too frequently on deputies' speeches.

One more version, the briefest, was also voiced: "A proportion of the USSR people's deputies (and only the union deputies—IZVESTIYA editorial note) is elected from the public organizations." And Yu.Kh. Kalmykov, as the representative of the committee for questions of legislation, legality, and law and order, expressed himself in favor of it... Indeed, it is simply impossible to list all the speakers. During the voting the alternative option did not get through. The figures lit up once again on the electronic display panel—and the fate of the amendment was decided. The mention of elections from public organizations is excluded from the draft law. The results were: 254 deputies for, 85 against, and 36 abstentions. At the proposal of a number of deputies the voting was individual. This version will be submitted to the Congress of People's Deputies.

The discussion of the remaining amendments and the approval of the draft law as a whole proceeded relatively quickly and calmly. The USSR Supreme Soviet resolution on the USSR draft law on changes and additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) on questions of the electoral system was also approved without particular complications.

And so one more round of parliamentary debates has ended.

Some deputies will take part in the remainder of the week in the work of the sessions of their republics' supreme soviets. The others are continuing work in the committees and commissions. As always, the next plenary sitting is next Monday.

Lapygin on Discussion of Defense Spending

PM2710105389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Interview with V.L. Lapygin, chairman of the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, by Lieutenant Colonel V. Kosarev: "Last Word With USSR Supreme Soviet"—date and place unspecified, first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions and committees are completing their examination of the draft state plan for economic and social development and the country's state budget for 1990. According to the tentative schedule for the session's work these documents—and, subsequently, the conclusions reached on them by all interested committees and commissions—will be submitted to a joint session of the parliamentary chambers.

We have told KRASNAYA ZVEZDA readers about how the discussions at the Committee for Defense and State Security Questions on the draft appropriations for defense and the state plan for the country's economic and social development are proceeding with regard to the whole range of defense sectors. We submit for your attention an interview with its chairman, V.L. Lapygin, on the eve of the conclusion of this great job.

[Kosarev] Vladimir Lavrentyevich, this is probably the first time in many years that the draft state plan and budget have caused such widespread and truly general and sincere interest. People realize what the figures they contain mean for the entire country and for each of us. How have you assessed the part of the documents pertaining to the specifics of your committee?

[Lapygin] First and foremost, it should be said that the program contained in them is geared to a resolute switch toward improving the economy, which is currently in a critical condition, and to ensuring the balanced and proportional functioning of the national economy in order to bring about gradually expanded reproduction in the context of the mounting pace of the social reorientation of the economy. That is the main point. After detailed study and discussion we mainly approved the proposals issued by the USSR Council of Ministers on defense issues. But in its conclusions the committee makes a number of recommendations prompted by the need to further elaborate certain issues both with regard to defense building and with regard to the defense sectors of industry—particularly the problems of conversion...

[Kosarev] The draft state budget proposes allocating R70.9 billion for the financing of defense, which is R6.4 billion less than in the current year. What lies behind these figures? How, above all will the reduction be brought about?

[Lapygin] Our state's realistic and constructive foreign policy aimed at extensively developing businesslike and mutually advantageous international cooperation makes it possible to cut the military budget, which ensures fulfillment of the proposals expressed at the Congress of People's Deputies to cut military spending. The reduction in the size of Armed Forces personnel in accordance with the decision adopted by parliament, coupled with the more rational and economic use of funds in operating and repairing combat hardware make it possible to cut spending on maintaining the Army and Navy. It is planned to reduce the scale of financing for military science and to reduce spending on military construction work, while maintaining the volume of housing and sociocultural construction, which is also in line with the Congress of People's Deputies resolution.

And I would like to emphasize the following. We on our committee believe that in the current international situation this is the maximum amount by which the military budget can be cut. A further reduction in it would raise serious doubts about the sufficiency of our defense. We must bear in mind the fact that no country is currently making such cuts in its military budget. Our potential enemies, as we know, are constantly increasing their military power. Quite recently we met with our colleagues—FRG parliamentarians and representatives of the Free Democratic Party of Germany. Among other matters we discussed the problems of the defense budget. Next year the FRG plans to increase it by almost 3 percent. It will also grow in the United States and in the other NATO armies.

[Kosarev] It was noted at the session that the financial program contained in the draft state budget should create a firm foundation for the implementation of highly important social tasks. To what extent is this envisaged by the military budget?

[Lapygin] We devoted a large part of our time during the examination of the military budget to precisely this problem. Nobody should be in any doubt that it is currently our number one problem. The social position of servicemen—their pay, the provision of housing to them, and so forth—are in a critical condition.

After painstaking consideration and calculations with the Defense Ministry and the Ministry of Finance it was decided to channel R1.2 billion from the total amount of funds allocated for defense into improving the material and living conditions of servicemen and members of their families—not least improving the pay of officers, warrant officers, sergeants, and privates, pensions, and housing construction. But the last word lies with the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Political & Social

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Continues 27 Oct

LD2710082689 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The session of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation continued in the Grand Kremlin Palace today.

Submitted for the approval of the Russian Parliament will be bills on changes and supplements to the Constitution of the Federation, and on elections to local soviets. It will also fix the elections date.

The session will also discuss question of transferring the autonomous republics, territories and regions of the Russian Federation to economic self-management and self-financing.

Discusses Election Law, Financing

LD2710090189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] At 1000 [0700 GMT] today, the work of the session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet continued its work in the Grand Kremlin Palace. Comrade Khabiyev, deputy chairman of the Commission of Legislative Proposals [as heard], set forth the commission's position summarizing numerous remarks, proposals, and additions, expressed by the deputies from the rostrum and in notes. According to the agenda of the session, the deputies have to adopt a law on the election of RSFSR people's deputies and local soviets, also one on changes and additions to the RSFSR Constitution and the procedure for instituting it.

Today, they must also adopt a decision on setting a date for elections and forming a central electoral commission.

The deputies will also discuss the question of the transition of autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts and of the Russian Federation as a whole to the principles of self-government and self-financing.

The session is now continuing its work.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Holds Session 26 Oct

Electoral System Discussed

LD2610233789 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet today concluded the discussion of the bills aimed at restructuring the electoral system on a democatic basis and largely renewing the structure of government bodies in the biggest of the 15 union republics of the USSR.

It was emphasised during a two-day debate that the documents submitted to the session take into account the experience of the first stage of the political reform—the shaping of supreme bodies of state authority in the USSR.

Substantial changes have been made in the documents. They will promote the widening of the competence of the republican bodies of authority and enhancement of independence of local soviets.

There has been a particularly acute debate on the proposal to elect a number of deputies by work collectives. There has been a proposal to form bicameral soviets consisting of the chamber of territories and the chamber of production collectives.

Those who oppose this view regard elections at electoral districts for production collectives undemocratic. Special conditions for a part of the population would be created. A compromise decision has been proposed: to try out the innovation as an experiment on a limited scale.

There has been no unanimity in the attitude to the idea of direct election of the highest official in the soviets. Opponents to this idea believe that this might lead to the development of autocratic tendencies.

Meanwhile Moscow historian Dmitry Volkogonov declared in support of such elections. He emphasised that the most important principle of democracy is a direct participation of every citizen in governing the state.

He also called into question the need to form a Congress of People's Deputies as the supreme body of authority in the republic.

He believes that a congress retaining most important legislative powers lessens the role of parliament and slows down the passage of legal acts.

However, the majority of speakers declared for the setting up of a Congress of People's Deputies. They hold that only a large representative body (the Congress is to consist of 1,068 deputies) can represent the interests of the Russian Federation with its population of 170 million, consisting of 31 autonomous formations.

The deputies gave much attention to national aspects of state structure.

This evening the commission for legislative proposals of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet will discuss all remarks and proposals made by deputies at the session. The laws on the changes in the constitution and on elections are to be adopted on Friday.

New Region in Buryat Formed

LD2610091689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Summary] On the map of the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic a new administrative region, the (Moiskiy) region, has appeared. At the center is the Taksimo settlement. The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Presidium issued a directive on this.

Vorotnikov, Zaykov Take Part

LD2610233289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] Today, at the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow, is the second day of work of the 11th session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. Taking part in its work are Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Kryuchkov, Medvedev, Slyunkov, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Manayenkov, and Usmanov. The deputies are continuing discussion of the laws about changes and addenda to the Constitution, about elections of People's Deputies of the Federation and of local soviets. [passage omitted listing speakers]

Vorotnikov RSFSR Supreme Soviet Speech

PM2710125189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1-2

[Speech by Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the 11th session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet held at the Great Kremlin Palace in Moscow on 25 October Entitled: "An Important Stage of Political Reform"]

[Text] Respected comrade deputies, among the main trends in the revolutionary perestroyka of Soviet society the reform of its political system has today acquired a central significance. As is well-known, the 27th congress and the 19th all-union conference of the CPSU began this process. During the period that has elapsed, the higher bodies of power have been reorganized, the procedure for forming them has been changed and the structure of the local soviets has been renewed. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the elections of USSR people's deputies and then their first congress as well, and the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet have had, and are having, a powerful influence on the whole life of the country. Everywhere interest is growing in the work of state establishments; their qualitative improvement and deep democratization are seen, with reason, by citizens as a pledge of radical changes in the socioeconomic and intellectual spheres.

In accordance with the program elaborated by the party, the transition to the following stages of political reform, the harmonization of relations between union republics and the improvement of the structure and the activities of the local soviets of people's deputies, is beginning. The eleventh session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet is called upon to open up the road to important changes in the state organism of the Russian Federation. The aim of the draft laws presented for your examination is to increase the effectiveness of republican institutions, and to guarantee the further democratization of the electoral system. The draft laws have been elaborated in accordance with the provisions of the USSR Constitution, and take into account the new ideas which have entered into political practice during recent years and the rich experience accumulated by the local soviets of people's deputies. All of this explains the great interest which the working people of the Russian Federation are showing in the session.

The draft laws on amendments and additions to the RSFSR constitution and on elections of RSFSR people's deputies and local soviets, published in August, prompted numerous reactions in all corners of the republic. As the documents were discussed, attention was concentrated more and more on their main, principle theses. Altogether, around 200,000 observations and proposals from labor collectives, party and local soviet bodies, public organizations and individual citizens were received and examined. Proposals expressed earlier during the election campaign for USSR people's deputies were also taken into account. An active part in the discussion was played by the press and the other mass media. Special commissions of the Supreme Soviet and working groups constantly held consultations with academics and representatives of local soviets and analyzed the viewpoints set out at the Congress of People's Deputies and at the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Some USSR people's deputies deemed it necessary to send in their observations on individual articles in the bills.

All the observations and wishes were studied thoroughly by the Commission for Legislative Proposals and examined repeatedly by the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Russian Federation at its sessions. As a whole, the bills have been received with approval by the republic's citizens. It is noted that they mark a step forward in the development of state life and advance the political ideas of perestroyka. The general opinion is that the bills—and it is in this that their main merit is perceived—will promote the expansion of the authority of the Russian Federation and its central organs of power and government, enhance the legal status of autonomous formations and strengthen the independence and responsibility of local soviets. For the main part, the reactions are constructive supplements and amplifications aimed at improving the texts of the documents. Critical opinions on individual provisions were also expressed. All this helped to improve the content of the bills and to weigh up each viewpoint and each formulation comprehensively.

Amplifications or addenda have been introduced into most clauses of the documents. The public discussion of the bills was no doubt a major event in the political life of the Russian Federation. It passed off in a democratic atmosphere of free comparison of views, a businesslike analysis of various positions, and a search for optimum solutions.

The creative atmosphere of the discussions is creating good preconditions for fruitful work in our session and for passing laws which meet the demands of the time.

Comrades, there is no need to try to prove that all questions of improving Russian statehood should be examined in close coordination with the overall situation in the country, with progress in the process of renewal, with the new features which the first stage of the political reform has brought with it.

Assessing the situation in the most general terms, we can say that perestroyka is slowly but surely moving forward. The entire atmosphere of social existence has changed markedly. All social strata and groups have become more active. The struggle between old and new is intensifying. Heated discussions are underway around what, as recently as yesterday, seemed to be unshakable truths. The sharp turn in the country's life is not being achieved without flareups of social tension. Alongside the increase in the creative activity of the masses, their striving to contribute to the party's program, forces which attack socialism, which propagandize the ideas of separatism and nationalism, have also appeared on the political scene. The complex socioeconomic situation, the fact that this year for many indices, our republic, just as the country as a whole, is not reaching the level of the 5-Year Plan tasks, cannot fail to alarm us.

Of course, one cannot but take into account that we are at a transitory stage, that the new economic mechanism has not yet been brought fully into play, that it is operating in parallel with economic institutions which use the old administrative-command methods. Mistakes made already in the course of perestroyka, and the fact that some innovations have been insufficiently thought out, are also having an effect.

Closely examining the situation in the socio-economic sphere, we see that in many respects things are coming to a standstill here because of the imperfection of the political levers. One cannot tear away the economy from politics, even though it develops in accordance with its own laws. It is important to make full use of the possibilities of politics for duly influencing economic life. It stands to reason that this thesis should not be understood in an oversimplified way. The ideas being propagandized by individual authors, that the forms of political democracy should be a copy of economic democracy, and that, for instance, economic accountability of territories inevitably requires their political independence, etc, are incorrect. It is also impossible to accept the other thesis, according to which the price to be paid for political democracy and freedom is economic inequality and social demarcation.

It must be said outright that the political system of socialism, promoting the development of regulated market relations, the freedom of economic ties, cannot be based on the same principles which determine the relations between poducers aznd consumers, sellers and buyers. It is called upon to ensure the equality of citizens' rights and freedoms, their active participation in running the state's affairs, in economic life, to further the establishment of social justice, and create the necessary scope for the operation of objective economic laws. It is precisely by this that the supreme republican bodies are guided in drawing up a reliable legal foundation for the functioning of the political mechanism and of all its integral parts.

Let's, however, turn again to the economy. The processes which are developing here today bear a most direct relation to the second stage of the political reform. And this is fully explicable. The harmonization of relations between the union republics and perestroyka of the activities of the local soviets is closely connected with how the change-over to territorial economic accountability and self-financing, which serves as the economic form of self-determination and sovereignty, is implemented.

It is necessary to stress that the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation are devoting the closest attention to the introduction of economically accountable relations in the RSFSR. Vigorous work on the mechanism of self-management and self-financing in individual territories, and in Russia as a whole, is being conducted in the republic. This is a major independent question and it will be examined in detail in the report by Comrade Vlasov, the chairman of our republic's Council of Ministers.

I would like to limit myself to just a few remarks. In such a responsible business as territorial economic accountability we are above all interested in the feasibility and viability of the concepts elaborated, and in how fully they take into account the specific character of the national economy of the Russian Federation.

As far as the time periods for the transition to self management and new economic relations on our territory are concerned, then for us, if the republic as a whole is taken, this cannot help but be relatively protracted. Why? Because, first, financially autonomous relations in the republic represent the uppermost level, a kind of sum total of such relations in its numerous oblasts, krays and autonomous republics—where they in their turn are formed only as a result of the formation of real economic accountability at individual enterprises.

Second, the deployment, the level of development, and the profile of the productive forces of the oblasts, krays and autonomous formations of the Federation demand the application of various models of economically accountable relations. Several such models for the regions, with more or less similar conditions, are now being elaborated simultaneously in our republic. It is especially important to take into account that a huge part of the republic lies in Siberia, in the Northern latitudes, where the concentration of raw material industries is high and where the export of products significantly exceeds the import, and to take into account that several regions cannot yet exist without subsidies.

Third, economic accountability should be closely coordinated with the main principles of the functioning of the local economy and local self management, with principles which, as is well-known, are still only in the process of being elaborated.

And finally territorial economic accountability demands equivalence in the trade turnover between union republics. No one has doubts that the equalization of the economic managemeent conditions in Russian with those of other republics demands that an effective mechanism, based on a perfect and objective normative basis, be put into operation, and we cannot resolve this issue alone, it is the business of all of the republics and the center.

The other aspect of the process of the harmonisation of relations between the Russian Federation and the remaining union republics is the strengthening of its political status, the consolidation of its sovereignty and the guarantee of a correlation between its duties and rights. Topical today is the task of the creation of missing state establishments and the formation in our republic of administrative and management structures analogous to those which are present in other union republics. Such an approach was fully supported at the plenum in September of this year, of the CPSU Central Committee, as you know.

I should like to brief the deputies on what is being done in this area. In order to streamline capital construction, Union construction ministries operating on the territory of the RSFSR were transferred a few months ago to the control of the Russian Federation. It should be noted that this is already having a positive effect on relations between local soviets and builders and is strengthening their mutual responsibility. Matters related to the formation of a Republic-level material and technical supply system are being studied. A Union Republican ministry of internal affairs of the RSFSR was set up very recently. Proposals to establish a Russian Academy of Sciences are being discussed on a concrete plane—something which will undoubtedly facilitate a significant intensification of the influence of science on the republic's life and acceleration of scientific and technical process. The issue of forming a state committee for interethnic relations is being examined. A number of measures to develop the mass media for the Russian Federation have been approved. For example, permanent Russian channels will be introduced on central television and radio; and new republican newspapers, socio-political, literary, and artistic magazines and the like will be published.

The fact that the Politburo of the Central Committee is submitting for examination at the next plenum the matter of creating a special body at the CPSU Central Committee which will deal with coordinating the activity of party organizations in the oblasts, krays, and autonomous republics of the Russian Federation is of fundamental importance. In essence, the need to set up Russian trade union and Komsomol bodies has already been predetermined.

Comrades, our session is to take an important step in the development of the state system of the Russian Federation: it is to approve a new structure for the Republic's organs of authority and the procedure for their formation. It is this which comprises the main meaning of the bills which have been presented for your examination by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; I hope you have studied them. Permit me, in anticipation of the debate, to dwell on some of the key provisions of the bills. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet thinks it expedient that a new supreme organ of state authority—the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies—should be formed in our republic in accordance with the USSR Constitution. This proposal has found broad support from citizens, working collectives, and public organizations which took part in the discussion of the Bill in Amendments to the Constitution of the RSFSR.

What is the point of creating a new supreme body of state power? Firstly, formed of representatives of all strata and social groups and nationalities of our nearly 150,000,000-strong Republic, it will broadly reflect the whole spectrum of interests of the peoples of Russia. Secondly, concentrating within itself a great political and intellectual force, it will be able to authoritatively decide the most important questions of state life within the RSFSR's remit. Finally, the formation of the congress creates real prerequisites for fruitful work of a numerically more compact, permanently-acting Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR.

The bills set out in detail the basic provisions concerning the formation and activity of the Congress of People's Deputies. For the purpose of fuller representation of individual territories, it is proposed to elect to the Congress 1,068 deputies or 93 persons more than in the present Supreme Soviet. And it is intended that the number of territorial constituencies shall be reduced from 975 to 900, and at the same time 168 national-territorial constituencies will be formed, half of which will be in autonomous territories. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet arrived at these figures after all-round analysis of the present administrative structure, wishing to ensure more representation for each national-territorial formation in the supreme body of state power. If the holding of a congress is refrained from, then the representation of People's Deputies in the supreme body of state power, as compared with the existing Supreme Soviet, will be reduced by 2 and ½ to 3 times, which would seem unacceptable for the Russian Federation.

Our bill incorporates the wish of the autonomous republics that Congresses of People's Deputies should not be created there, and that the Supreme Soviets should act as supreme bodies of state power as they do now.

Their role, however, will become considerably greater. The creation in the Supreme Soviet of two chambers—the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities—which will enjoy equal rights, will be of fundamental importance for perfecting the Russian Soviet state system. The formation of the second chamber will, undoubtedly, result in the deepening of national and internationalist principles in the activity of the Supreme Soviet and in the active development of ties between the peoples of the RSFSR, and will promote the implementation of the legitimate rights and interests of autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and autonomous okrugs. The two-chamber supreme representative body of power will become a forceful instrument for asserting the federative nature of the Russian federation.

It is envisaged that each chamber of the Supreme Soviet will have 126 deputies. How does this figure, which was determined in the process of elaborating the draft law, break down? One began, naturally, with the Soviet of Nationalities which is formed on the basis of a more complex scheme. One came to the conclusion that it would be expedient to nominate and elect to this chamber three deputies from each of the 16 autonomous republics and one deputy from each of the five autonomous oblasts and 10 autonomous okrugs, the total being 63 deputies. The same representation—also 63 deputies—from krays, oblasts and the towns of Moscow and Leningrad has been envisaged. This will add up to 126 people. If one observes the principle of equality, the Soviet of the Republic should consist of the same number of people. It is formed from the number of RSFSR people's deputies elected in territorial constituencies, taking into account both the number of electors in the region and the need for representing all the territorial and autonomous formations in the chamber. One thinks that the proposed membership of the chambers is optimal. On one hand, they will be relatively small and compact, where state issues could be discussed in a businesslike way, and on the other hand, they will be large enough to secure the due representation of all the formations on the republic's territory, I mean, krays, oblasts and autonomous formations.

I will remind you once again that 126 deputies elected according to territorial constituencies are elected to the Soviet of the Republic, and 126 deputies elected according to national-territorial constituencies are elected to the Soviet of Nationalities; overall, 252 deputies will be represented in the Supreme Soviet. The number of people's deputies being elected to the Congress from autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs, as compared with their representation in the present Supreme Soviet, is being increased.

During discussion of the bills, the opinion was voiced that it was necessary to clarify the relationship of the functions of the Congress of People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. I think one should support the proposal from the localities, approved by the Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Commission for Legislative Proposals, that in Article 107 of the bill there should be a more precise definition of the status of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, setting down in writing that it is a body of the Congress, since it is elected by the Congress and is accountable to it.

Further, in view of the enhanced role of the representative bodies of state power, it is proposed to change the procedure for forming the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, placing different functions upon it. It will no longer be a legislative body, it will not issue decrees of a normative nature, but will engage primarily in organizing the work of the Supreme Soviet, in preparing for and holding its sessions, and coordinating the activity of the standing commissions. It will help the people's deputies to perform their functions and also carry out other duties placed upon it.

The commissions of the chambers and the committees of the Supreme Soviet will also work in a new way. They will become permanently-acting bodies.

Now I should like to dwell on the following question: during discussion of the drafts of the law, proposals were introduced on changing the procedure for electing chairmen of the soviets of all levels. The USSR Supreme Soviet session held yesterday granted the union republics themselves the right to decide this matter. Without doubt this applies not simply to the procedural point. In our view—and this is reflected in the bill submitted to the session—for such a big republic as the Russian federation, taking into account also that it is envisaged to hold an RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies, it would be most correct for the Congress to elect the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, who would be also accountable to the Congress.

This is entirely in keeping with the essence of the supremacy of power of a collegial body—the soviets. I think that our session will lend its support to this proposal. Comrade deputies, the process of democratization of society's life in the multinational Russian Federation provides for a further improvement of the system of state structures within the autonomous republics. It provides for an expansion of their rights and an enhancement of the status of autonomous oblasts and okrugs. This, one can say, represents one of the main ideas of the bills that have been submitted. It was noted at the September CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which examined the entire gamut of problems of the nationalities policy that the current differences in the forms of self-determination of nations reflected the following reality of life: That during the period when the USSR was coming into being, peoples found themselves on different levels of socioeconomic development; they differed substantially as far as their numerical strength was concerned, not all of them underwent the stages of national consolidation. Now these differences have been surmounted to a large extent.

The autonomous formations do not, however, have as yet the essential opportunities at their disposal in order to have their specific requirements satisfied fully. It is, therefore, natural, that the question of broadening the rights of autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts and okrugs in all the areas of state, economic and cultural construction comes up on the agenda. These rights ought to be enshrined within the new all-union laws. However, some important ideas could, even now, be reflected in the laws being examined by this session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

In particular, it is proposed that in order to enhance the legal status of autonomous oblasts and okrugs, they should be given the right to submit draft laws to the highest bodies of state power in the USSR and those of the union republics.

It would also be worthwhile to provide for them to have a right to go the RSFSR's Constitutional Oversight Committees in those cases when it becomes necessary to determine whether specific acts of state bodies and public organisations are in keeping with the Constitution and the laws of the Russian Federation.

Extraordinary sessions of the congresses of RSFSR people's deputies can be convened at the initiatives of autonomous oblasts and okrugs. They are also given the right to submit proposals on holding nationwide discussion of RSFSR draft laws and other most important state issues. The idea of forming national rayons and rural soviets is gaining support locally; the view that this will help to satisfy better the cultural and social and economic needs of small peoples is being voiced. Concrete steps in this direction have already been taken in some places.

I would like to point out once more the fundamental importance of the proposal to set up the Soviet of Nationalities in our republic's Supreme Soviet. Through this, new opportunities for discussing all the problems of national life and interethnic relations and taking into account the diverse interests of all of Russia's nations and ethnic groups are opening. Of course, the expansion of rights, comrades, does not yet fully guarantee the successful implementation of the tasks that face autonomous republics. Now, one must use more effectively the rights that are already available both for solving social and economic problems and developing culture.

I would like to dwell particularly, on nothern regions where there are several autonomous okrugs. Many of them have rich natural resources, there are good conditions for developing such traditional economic branches as fishing, deer breeding, fur production. The enterprises that are situated in these okrugs and administered by both union and republican ministries, as well as local bodies of power, however, are doing little yet to use the available opportunity more fully. Economic, social, demographic, and ecological problems have become more acute over the last years in northern regions. Recently the Republican Council of Ministers adopted a program of urgent measures aimed at developing northern regions. This program defines the concrete tasks that are facing Russia's ministries and departments and the corresponding local soviets. One should ensure the practical implementation of this program. While taking care of the development of autonomous formations, we should constantly keep in mind the need to strengthen friendship and cooperation between various nationalities and ensure their comprehensive interaction.

A great deal must be done in all the territories to broaden the teaching of indigenous languages of the peoples who live there, to further improve training for the national teaching cadres, to increase the publication of text books and study aids. Soviets ought to give permanent attention to all the matters connected with the preservation of the originality of the national cultures and their enrichment, with creating favorable conditions for the development of national-Russian and Russian-national bilingualism; they ought to intensify the international and patriotic education of working people.

While strengthening friendly contacts with peoples of foreign countries and also with our fellow countrymen who, for one reason or another, live outside the frontiers of the Fatherland, represents an integral part of this work. Broadly based activities in this direction are getting underway in the Russian Federation, in accordance with the Constitution. The potential of public organizations to maintain ties with other fellow countrymen should be put to a more active use, and the network of local branches of these organizations should be developed.

Taking advantage of this occasion, I would like to say that all Russains no matter where they live, all who perceive Russia as their native hearth, can rely on the friendship and solidarity of our republic's people.

Comrades, the strengthening of the local authorities, expansion of the rights and powers of the soviets of people's deputies in krays, oblasts, rayons, towns and villages and the rural soviets represent an important thrust of the political reform. It is precisely in this area that the course of the party and of the socialist state finds its material expression—in deeds that touch upon the interests of the popular masses and upon every individual's interests. To enhance the role of the local soviets means to give them real state and economic power; to invest them with the right to decide upon many of the issues that currently fall within the remit of higher bodies.

At the same time, the reorganization of the soviets is directly linked with the development of local self-management. As is known, the USSR Supreme Soviet has examined in the first reading the draft law on the general principles of local self-management and local economy, and is forwarding it for nationwide discussion. We have to work out a law that will create legal conditions for active work of the soviets of people's deputies as the main link of local self-management. They have to be given the right to truly run the local economy and manage the considerable funds that will be formed through inviting finance from enterprises, public organizations and the population. Of course, one should proceed at the same time from an understanding of the entire Soviet system's integrity, the need for a sensible distribution of the rights and responsibilities of local soviets of various links, and the mutually advantageous harmonization of the possibilities and interests of individual territories, republics and the state in general.

I would like to draw your attention to the measures that have been put forward in the draft laws and which make it possible to invest the activity of local soviets with a more business-like and purposeful character. In particular, it has been planned to somewhat reduce the number of deputies to be elected to the local soviets. The local soviet itself will decide how many deputies are required to ensure the local soviet's successful activity. The creation of presidiums of the local soviets will promote the further democratization of the local soviets and the enhancement of their effectiveness. They are to fulfill important tasks, to ensure the preparation and holding of sessions, the coordination of the work of standing commissions, and to give assistance to deputies. The status of the presidiums, the thrust of their activity, the range of competence, and the correlation of their functions and the functions of executive committees were determined in the model regulations on the chairmen and presidiums of the local soviets of people's deputies that was adopted the other day by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Local soviets have accumulated extensive experience of running various spheres of economic and cultural activity on their territories. The soviet system has proved its high viability and effectiveness, and one cannot take seriously individual utterances regarding the experience of local soviets, utterances alleging that our republic has no experience of democratic leadership, that we are semiliterate in the matter of state construction and must learn this from the West.

At the same time, the rich political culture of Russia is being written off. The centuries-long traditiions of local self-management, its entire history are boiled down merely to the periods of despotism. Naturally we should take into account all that is useful that other countries have—but, likewise, we cannot disavow our valuable historical legacy. We must appraise the current activities of mass organizations, and the spontaneous movement in support of perestroyka, through the prism of experience in our recent and distant past.

The soviets ought to cooperate more closely with the trade unions, the Komsomol, women's committees, charitable funds, creative unions and other public bodies. The broadening of the soviets' rights and powers and strengthening of their material base is to create favorable opportunities for stepping up their activities along all the directions of the social, economic and cultural development, it is to facilitate the process of resolving the pressing problems being experienced by territories, of improving the conditions of life and work, of satisfying more fully the material and spiritual needs of the population.

It is precisely the soviets that ought to work vigorously on tackling such acute questions of present-day life as the imbalance between money in circulation and the consumer market, the shortage of essential goods, the distortions in the cooperative movement, speculation, the rise in crime, the weakening of discipline and order. Expansion of the scale of housing construction, improvement in the people's health protection and in environmental protection are among the most urgent tasks. Many regions have a good experience of tackling social programs—all local soviets must make this experience their own.

Comrades, democratization of the activities of elective bodies begins with the democratization of the electoral system. It is necessary to set up an effective mechanism that ensures that deputies are drawn from among the best representatives of the people, devoted to the ideas of perestroyka, capable of instilling new vigor in the work of the soviets, able to tackle in a statesmanship-like manner the questions of political, social and economic development of the republic, their oblasts, rayons, towns and villages. It is precisely this idea that is at the source of the draft laws on the elections of the people's deputies of the

RSFSR and to the local soviets, draft laws that have been elaborated and submitted to your examination.

As the participants in the popular discussion of the bills have noted, they radically renovate the currently operating electoral system, they make it more democratic, make it possible to take comprehensive account of, and accurately express, the political will of the people. The cornerstone of the bills is the principle of universal, equal and direct electoral right, with secret ballot, for all citizens of the RSFSR who have reached the age of 18. We regard as unlawful any limits whatsoever on the rights of the electors depending on origin, social and property situation, and equally on what race or nationality they belong to, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, and time of residence in the given locality.

Under the new laws, the electoral rights of citizens will be implemented both in the form of their participation in the voting and by means of broad participation in nomination of candidates and their discussion, in the work of the electoral commissions, in monitoring the activity of the organizations ensuring the progress of the elections.

On this basis the system of nomination of candidate deputies is substantially democratized. It is proposed that any number of candidate deputies can be nomianted for single-seat and multi-seat constituencies. The right of nomination is granted to working collectives, public organizations, meetings of voters at their places of residence, and servicemen's meetings. According to the bills, this opportunity is also made available for the first time to collectives of secondary specialized and higher educational establishments.

Another important point is the change in the procedure for election of people's deputies from public organizations. As you remember during the discussion of the relevant union bill, this question provoked heated debate. The main objections amounted to the fact that although election of people's deputies from public organizations does indeed expand their social composition, at the same time to a certain degree the principle of equal electoral right is violated. Taking into account these opinions, our bills do not, from the very start, envisage elections from public organizations. It has been decided to equate their rights with the right of working collectives and voters at their places of residence, granting all of them the same opportunities for nominating candidates and participating in the election campaign.

And only voters of the corresponding constituencies will vote for the candidates.

Other views are, however, also being expressed, to the effect that such an an approach will narrow the composition of the body of deputies; that, allegedly, it does not take into account the growing role of public organizations in the process of democratization. The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the Soviet Women's Committee and other organizations have expressed their concern about this. How should we approach this kind of stance? I think that, above all, what is important is that every public organization, its plenum or conference, has the opportunity independently to determine its own candidates and to campaign for them. The election campaign should be conducted in such a way, and the kind of candidates should be put forward—from workers, from women, from young people and from other categories of population—so as to ensure the support of the majority of voters.

In our view, the matter of the election of representatives of nationalities, which have given their name to the relevant autonomous formations, to the post of people's deputy of the RSFSR in national-territorial constituencies, should be examined in a similar way. In this case, can an appropriate compulsory norm be introduced into the draft? We thought about this question but the law states that such an approach would contradict a fundamental principle, according to which no restrictions or quotas according to age, nationality, or of any other kind are permissible. At the same time, all possible assistance should be given to candidates for people's deputy from the indigenous nationalities during the election campaign.

In the process of discussing draft laws proposals were submitted to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on holding elections to local soviets on the basis of production or mixed constituencies. The view is voiced that in this way proportional representation of all the main categories of the working people can be ensured. The idea undoubtedly merits attention, but its adherents don't have a clear idea of the organizational forms in which it should be embodied, of how to ensure preservation of the principle, one voter - one vote. If deputies have any thoughts on this account, then they could be discussed.

The view is expressed in particular that in those cases when elections to local soviets by production constituencies receive the support of the electorate, then kray and oblast soviets of people's deputies could be granted the right to hold such elections as an experiment, for example, in certain town or rayon soviets.

In order that deputies might have a sufficiently complete idea of the whole diversity of judgements of the working people, it is essential, albeit briefly, to dwell on a number of proposals which were not reflected in the draft laws on elections. They include, in particular, a desire for the establishment of a higher age qualification for the right to be elected a people's deputy of the RSFSR; for a limitation on the electoral rights of citizens of other union republics on the territory of the Russian Federation; for the introduction of fines for violations of the laws on elections, and so on. Also rejected were some of the amendments of a procedural nature, for example, for the removal of all kinds of restrictions on the size of labor collectives needed to nominate candidate deputies; for the nomination of candidates by means of conveying the relevant petitions to the electoral commissions. During examinations of this group of proposals it was noted that many of them run counter to some of the most important principles of the Constitution, and fail to take account of the tendencies of social development and specific features of contemporary nationalities policy. It was also said that the adoption of such amendments would mean, on the one hand, an impermissible narrowing of democracy, and on the other hand, it would make very important stages in the election campaign essentially unmanageable and would remove them from popular supervision.

A proposal was supported to preserve the existing procedure for counting votes cast by the electorate. Voting papers on which more than one candidacy has not been crossed off will continue to be considered invalid. In order that there should be as few of these voting papers as possible, it is essential to carry out better work among the electorate and to explain to them more clearly the rules and procedures of voting. And one more pont. In the course of the discussion of the draft laws on elections there arose a keen debate regarding the expediency of retaining the institution of constituency pre-election meetings. You will recall that the published draft law had proposed convening such meetings only in those cases when the number of candidacies nominated exceeds an established limit.

This limit was planned to be 10 candidates in elections of people's deputies of the RSFSR, and five candidates in elections to local soviets. However, a great many citizens advocated the rejection of constituency meetings regardless of the number of candidates. What is more, they cited facts about the violation of electoral rights and various kinds of distortions that were permitted at such meetings during the last election campain. Many proposals on this matter were received, from virtually all regions of the Russian Federation. Taking into consideration the views of the electorate, the Commission for leislative proposals of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet considered it possible to exclude the articles pertaining to constituence meetings from the draft law.

In the draft laws on elections of people's deputies of the RSFSR and local soviets, much attention is paid to the organization of meetings between candidates for deputy and their electorate and to providing them with equal opportunities to participate in the election campaign. The electoral commission should be engaged in this. However, state and public bodies, heads of enterprises and institutions, and also public initiative bodies are obliged to assist them.

I would like to draw the attention of deputies also to the provisions stipulated in the draft laws to the effect that all candidates for deputy are granted equal rights to speak at election and other meetings, conferences, sittings, in the press, on the radio and television. A candidate has the right to determine and put forward his own agents [doverennyye litsa] for registration. Undoubtedly, these and certain other measures will promote the better legal regulation of the electoral campaign, will help to avoid conflicts and subsequently, many complaints and applications by citizens to the electoral commission and to party and local soviet bodies.

For the purposes of regulating the electoral campaign and strengthening its, if you like, moral bases, the draft laws stipulate that a candidate for deputy who is registered in one constituency cannot be put forward for registration in another. As a result of discussion of the draft law, the new idea of granting settlement and village soviets, where no more than 20 deputies will be elected, the right to carry our elections in accordance with a general list of deputies, also gained unanimous support. In other words, the territory of the soviet will be a multimandate constituency.

An important feature of the electoral system proposed is the fact that the whole organizational side of the preparation and conducting of elections is entrusted exclusively to the electoral commission, which is invested with the necessary powers. A procedure for the formation of the staff of electoral commissions and for knowlegeable and prestigious people to be selected for them has been drawn up in the laws. I think that this will make it possible to heighten the role and activity of the commissions, and avoid mistakes and omissions.

Taking into consideration the numerous desires expressed from the localities, the draft law positively resolves the question, long since raised by practical workers and the public, about the inexpediency of forming individual constituency electoral commissions. It is planned to set up such commissions only for elections of deputies of kray, oblast, the Moscow and Leningrad city soviets, and also of autonomous oblast and autonomous okrug soviets. The organization of elections to all the other, low-level soviets is to be entrusted to the relevant district commissions.

It should be said that during discussion of the draft laws, proposals were expressed that definite norms should be introduced, defining the content and direction of the election programs of candidates for deputy. These proposals did not gain support. Without doubt, the voters should themselves evaluate the positions of candidates. They are capable of understanding the latters' programs and taking responsible decisions. The draft laws, guaranteeing equality of candidate deputies, provide that all expenses without exception, relating to the election campaign are paid only out of state resources allocated for these purposes. It is clear that if the use of the resources of enterprises, public or cooperative organisations or individual citizens is permitted, then this will place candidates for the mandate of deputy in an unequal position and will violate the democratic nature of the election campaign.

Yet another feature of the draft law should be pointed out. Just as during elections of people deputies of the RSFSR, so, during election of deputies of local soviets, in cases where elections are repeated, persons who failed to obtain the required number of votes in the first round in the given constituency cannot stand as candidates for deputy. There were frequent cases of this kind during the elections of USSR people's deputies in the past and in the majority, they aroused the disapproval of the electorate.

That is, actually, all of the main provisions, changes and additions to the draft laws which I would like to report at the present session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Comrade deputies! It is for you to make a thorough and critical examination of the draft laws as presented which have been submitted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to voice your attitude to them. These have to be laws which advance the process of democratization of our society and strengthen the foundations of the state system of the Russian Federation. These have to be laws which enable the political will of the people to be displayed in its entirety, and the election of their most worthy representatives to the organs prerequisites for a further rise in the political vigor of the masses and which will contribute to the consolidation of the unity and to the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation of the Soviet people.

Parliamentarians Debate Workers' Representation

LD2610145689 Moscow TASS in English 1439 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Broader representation of workers and peasants in state government bodies is being heatedly discussed in the course of a debate on amendments to the Constitution and elections of local soviets of people's deputies.

The documents are being considered by the Russian federation's parliamentarians at a Kremlin session of its Supreme Soviet.

The number of workers and peasants in the top organ of power decreased as a result of last spring's elections of Soviet people's deputies. To prevent that from happening in elections to republican and local soviets, Leningrad workers proposed to form production election districts the delegates from which would represent the interests of work collectives.

The proposal was supported by Soviet trade unions and representatives of many large industrial enterprises. It was backed also by some deputies who took the floor at the current session.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editor-in-Chief Valentin Chikin said that such elections would provide a reliable guarantee for the participation of working people in managing regional affairs. He strongly criticised those who said that workers and peasants in representative government bodies were a tool in the hands of the apparatus and just "a vote machine".

According to a sociological public opinion poll, held by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in a number of regions, 40 per cent of those polled support the idea of elections in production districts, 37.2 per cent were against and 22.8 per cent were not certain, Chikin said.

That idea was also supported by Nikolay Travkin, a builder from a suburb of Moscow, one of the Soviet people's deputies who attended the session. He proposed that local soviets should have two chambers—from territories and from production collectives. This system, Travkin believes, will make it possible to establish a mechanism of government aimed at a compromise that would meet the interests of both enterprises and the population. A decision on forming production districts should be made by local soviets, he said.

Opponents believe that elections in production election districts are undemocratic, since they create special conditions for part of the population. Pickets with slogans "no to elections in production districts" even appeared around the Kremlin during the session.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 'Russian Question'

PM2310143389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

["Interview Prior to Deputies' Meeting" with USSR People's Deputy S.V. Vasilyev from Tyumen by special correspondent Yu. Shatalov: "Realizing and Acting"; date of interview not specified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Tyumen Oblast—A working conference of USSR people's deputies, for which 60 representatives gathered from the Russian Federation's krays and oblasts, began yesterday in Tyumen. Within the framework of preparations for the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, they discussed the question: "The Position of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and Russians Within the USSR."

The day before, our correspondent talked with USSR People's Deputy S.V. Vasilyev from Tyumen, who initiated the conference.

[Shatalov] Sergey Viktorovich, tell us please how the idea of a conference with this agenda arose and why the Tyumen group of USSR people's deputies, rather than the Moscow group, for instance, or the Leningrad group, took responsibility for convening it?

[Vasilyev] Obviously, I am not revealing any great secret if I say that the delegation of people's deputies from the RSFSR was one of the most disconnected and unprepared for constructive legislative activity at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. That is why it is not surprising that representatives of other republics raised purely Russian problems in a more trenchant and striking manner.

There is not much time left until the second congress opens, and it is already obvious that neither the RSFSR Supreme Soviet nor the republic's Council of Ministers has been able to hold consultations with USSR people's deputies. Consequently, there is a real threat that our deputies, divided by the borders of "independent principalities," will once again act according to the principle: One pulls one way and one pulls the other. But that must not be allowed. That is why we decided to hold a working conference to elaborate the main guidelines for our activity at the impending congress.

The need for this conference was also dictated by the fact that in certain regions of the country some formal and informal leaders have, in my view, set about disregarding Russian people's civil rights. The reality is that 20 million Russians living outside the RSFSR are concerned about their position. In Estonia and Moldavia, they have already been forced to defend their rights using extreme methods. If this problem is not solved by parliamentary means, the people themselves will find the methods of struggle available to them, while the entire responsibility for the possible consequences will still rest with parliamentarians.

Last: This summer in Moscow I took part in the work of the interregional group of deputies and saw for myself that deputies who mainly represent Russian oblasts were not even thinking about Russia and the Russians. Without belittling the significance of the general political questions discussed by this group, we nonetheless believe that the problems encountered by the RSFSR and the Russian nation as a whole require special consideration. We hoped that Muscovites and Leningraders would undertake this matter but, alas, they preferred to keep silent.

[Shatalov] Aren't you worried that you may be accused of kindling passions after this conference and tagged with various "isms"?

[Vasilyev] I do admit that some people will not like the formulation of the Russian question. Approximately 60 people responded to the invitations that were dispatched to deputies. They all represent the RSFSR—from Vladimir to Vladivostok. As for my esteemed colleagues from other republics, they have obviously thought: They are your problems, so you solve them. Well, that is what we will do.

I want to cite some of our theses for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers. Owing to the implementation of Lenin's nationalities policy, it proved possible to put an end to the age-old backwardness of many of our country's peoples in record time. To achieve this noble aim, we used all the resources at the state's disposal, including budget formation and allocation, the mechanism of purchase prices and taxes, and many others. In the forties, for instance, collective farmers' income was higher by a factor of 9 in Uzbekistan than in the RSFSR, while the value of the gross crop harvest per working day was lower by a factor of 15 in the Non-Chernozem Zone than in Georgia.

By the late-1930's effective equality had been attained among the republics for most indicators. It seemed that their future development should have proceeded on the basis of strict observance of economic laws and commitments to one another. Unfortunately, this did not happen. The totally unwarranted removal of union budget funds for the use of certain republics continues to this day, giving rise to freeloading sentiments there among some of the population and choking labor collectives' enterprise.

The effective inequality among union republics is manifested in a particularly striking fashion in the allocation of state subsidies to shore up wholesale prices of meat and dairy products. Whereas for the country as a whole a rural inhabitant and an urban inhabitant are allocated R115.8 and R176.6 of subsidies respectively, these figures are R182.1 and R286.3 respectively in the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], R247.8 and R375.4 in the Lithuanian SSR, and R125.6 and R178.7 in the RSFSR.

I would like to cite an interview given by A. Vlasov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. He noted, inter alia, that "the amount of income that the Russian Federation currently directs into the union budget far exceeds expenditure on the republic's economic and social needs."

To what can we attribute the fact that, unlike most other republics which receive all 100 percent of the income tax paid by the populations in the republic budget, the RSFSR has never received more than 50 percent of this tax. The fact that in the early-1980's the RSFSR was last in terms of the provision of hard-surfaced roads per square kilometer of territory cannot fail to prompt distressing thoughts. Examples of this sort can be cited ad infinitum, but I would like to end with the following example: Moscow—the capital of the RSFSR and the oldest center in Russia—found itself in approximately 70th position among the USSR's cities in terms of indicators relating to the development of the sociocultural infrastructure. What can be said about oblast centers such as, for instance, Gorkiy, Vladimir, Pskov, Tyumen, Kuybyshev, Perm, and others? They have literally become backwaters before our very eyes.

[Shatalov] Sergey Viktorovich, you have hitherto "applied your efforts" to socioeconomic problems in the RSFSR's development. Russians have nothing to brag about, as they say, in this respect. But what would you say about public education and the demographic situation in the republic?

[Vasilyev] In 1979, the RSFSR was in a worse position than, say, the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics in terms of the number of specialists with a higher education qualification among the working population. The same thing can be said about scientific workers with academic degrees. I may shock some people, but I will nonetheless recall that even among the peoples of the RSFSR the Russian people are in 16th and 19th place respectively in terms of the number of people with a higher education per capita in the cities and in the countryside.

I cannot talk about so-called demographic trends without pain. At present there are fewer pupils in the RSFSR's general education schools than in 1940, when 7-year education alone was compulsory.

The party and the Soviet state have called on society to have a respectful attitude to the spiritual values of the past. As a result we have in recent years once again "discovered" many figures from Russian literature and art whom certain officials from the era of Stalin, Khrushchev, and Brezhnev tried to erase from the public memory, but the process of revival is, in my opinion, proceeding unevenly and painfully. For instance, why are miserly editions of Russian literary classics being published? Why will you not find anywhere in our music stores recordings of the best works of Tchaikovsky, Glinka, Prokofyev, Shostakovich, Mussorgskiy, Stravinskiy, and many other splendid composers whose contribution to the world musical treasurehouse is undisputed?

Who will tell us why the historical works of V. Klyuchevskiy and S. Solovyev are still unavailable to a wide audience, not to mention every Russian family, despite the public's unequivocal opinion? For this is our history, our roots!

Incidentally, a word about the history of the RSFSR—the only republic in the country that does not teach its own history in general schools, as if we did not have a history. So, are we to remain oblivious?

[Shatalov] What specific proposals do you and your colleagues intend to take with you to the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies?

[Vasilyev] We advocate creating republic party, trade union, and Lenin Communist Youth League organizations in the RSFSR with their own press organs, an Academy of Sciences, and a State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and establishing a publishing house in every oblast. We hope that the congress will support our proposals to create a demographic committee and also a special subcommittee on migration of the population. We will uphold the idea of allocating the country's budget in strict accordance with every republic's contribution and of setting up an all-union aid fund for the population in the event of natural disasters and catastrophes. We also intend to raise the question of the restoration of our cities' historical names, the adoption of a law to safeguard those names, and the use of progressive national-historical symbols. These measures will, in our view, rouse the historical memory of a people who still have plenty of weighty contributions to make, notably at the current crucial moment in our country's development.

Pre-Revolution 'Kadets' Party Reportedly Reforms

LD2610154289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1406 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow , October 26 (TANJUG)—The Founder's Congress of Kadets (Constitutional Democrats), a party which played a visible role in Russia's political life until the Great October Revolution in 1917, has been held here.

The Founders Congress was attended by 10 delegates from Russia's ten cities.

One of the leaders of the newly-formed organisation of the Kadets, Viktor Zalatayev told the INTERFAX, a Soviet informative publication, that the goal of the party of Kadets' renewal is to stimulate private enterprise, private ownership, struggle for a multi-party system and parliamentarism in the Soviet Union.

Representatives Discuss Popular Front Conference

LD2610123689 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] A conference of the United Popular Front of Russia was held in the old Russian city of Yaroslavl. The United Popular Front of the Russian Federation was formed at the Congress making it the largest confederation of public political organizations of all the republics in the Soviet Union. Two days of arguments, discussions and clashes of opinions—this was the atmosphere of the constituent congress of the Russian Popular Front. Representatives from the Popular Front and other democratic movements from more than 40 towns and cities in Russia came to the Congress in Yaroslavl. Among the guests were People's Deputies who represent other republics. I spoke to People's Deputy and tutor at the Yaroslavl State University Igor Shamshev:

[Begin recording in Russian, fading into English translation] The main aim of the congress, he says, is to unite the democratic movements, the popular fronts that have been formed in Russia as a result of the course taken by perestroyka. This course has called for a change in the political consciousness of the people and has demanded they give their contribution to the renewal of the country. People not only want objective policies but also subjective; the people's self-respect and their consciousness have been awakened and the result is these demands. Similar popular fronts have already been established in the Baltic and Caucasian republics and recently the constituent congress held in the Ukraine, but the process has been drawn out in Russia. [end Shamshev recording]

A representative of the Moscow Popular Patriotic Front, (Yevgeniy Gurganov) feels that the work of the congress is tough going, as there are various points of views, many arguments and discussions:

[Begin (Gurgov) recording in Russian, fading into English translation] It seems they have different approaches to the main point; some see the future Russia through politically independent national states; others think the way, and that it be long and complex, is through national federal reform to preserve historic unity. Our Moscow Popular Patriotic Front is for this unity; it calls for preserving unity in the Russian Federation and the USSR.

The Congress elected 15 people to the coordinating council of the United Poppular Front of Russia. Three fundamental documents were adopted, the rules, programme and declaration. The declaration says in part the Popular Front consolidates the public political forces, stands on a democratic platform defending the priority of universal values over national, class or group. The Popular Front is against propaganda of any chauvinism or nationalism and is for the equality of all nationalities and peoples. [end (Gurganov) recording]

Leningrad Union Rally Criticizes Prices, Shortages

LD2610221289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1944 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Leningrad, 26 Oct (TASS)—TASS correspondent Vitaliy Tarasenko reports:

On one of the squares of Vasiliyevskiy Island, where the very major industrial enterprises and associations of the town are concentrated, a rally organized by the Leningrad Oblast Council of Trade Unions took place this evening in the pouring rain.

The rally was carried out in an emotional atmosphere. The economic reforms carried out in the country are not yet bringing about any real improvement in the conditions of people's lives. The prices of goods are increasing, an ever more acute shortage of goods is being felt. Many speakers blamed the cooperatives which are raising retail prices for this, the local soviets which are not hindering it, and the trade mafia which is creating artificial shortages.

However, as the rally's ordinary participants—with whom the TASS correspondent spoke—acknowledged, no specific measures for overcoming the crisis situation and for actually protecting the interests of workers' organizations were proposed by the gatherings.

The Leningrad trade unions, uniting more than 3.5 million people prepared for action beforehand: Each trade union of more than 20 branch committees had a space allocated to it on the square sealed off by printed slogans. But there were far fewer people at the rally than expected. In the resolution adopted at the rally the unity of the Leningrad trade unions in the struggle for perestroyka and social justice was confirmed.

Demands of Vorkuta Mine Strikers Noted

LD2610165989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Vorkuta, 26 Oct (TASS)—In the Vorkutaugol association (Komi Autonomous Republic) only 4 of the 13 mines were working normally today. The others either totally, or partially, ceased work and announced a 24-hour warning strike. The Yuzhnaya mine which supplies fuel for the polar town's heat and power station resumed coal extraction during the day. At the town-wide conference of strike committees and mine representatives which took place during the day, the decision was taken by all striking miners' collectives to resume work from 0000 hours on 27 October.

The Vorkuta town workers (strike) committee has drawn up a package of miners' demands and sent it to various official addresses. The demands include: that a government commission including members of the CPSU Central Committee should visit Vorkuta; that the conditions put forward and the miners' appeal to the country's working people should be published in the press; and that there should be recognition of the status of the strike committees as permanent bodies.

Political Demands Made

LD2610182689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct 26 (TANJUG)—The striking committee at Vorkuta, where about 20,000 miners went on strike three days ago, made three political demands, well-informed sources in Moscow say.

They demanded that a repeal of Article 6 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union which defines the leading role of the Soviet Communist Party in society.

With their second demand, they urged that the president of the Supreme Soviet be selected by a secret ballot from among several candidates. In their third request, which has already been partly fulfilled, they called for a direct election—instead of delegation—of all Soviet deputies.

In a debate on the matters, the Supreme Soviet recently agreed in principle with direct secret general elections.

Several days ago, between 15,000 and 20,000 miners staged a "warning" strike in Siberia, but their demands were primarily economic. They said that economic independence of enterprises was an unrealistic goal as long coal was not sold at a real economic price.

Update of Strike Situation

PM2610162789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondents Aleksandr Tretyakov and Viktor Filippov report under the rubric "Direct Line": "Vorkuta Miners on Strike"]

[Text] Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—Miners from the "Vorkutaugol" Association went out on strike in the night of 25-26 October. This is the third action by miners in the polar region since July, but this time there is no unanimity in their ranks. Having seen the documents on progress in the implementation of USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No 608 which were brought to Vorkuta on Saturday by USSR People's Deputies V. Lushnikov and V. Maksimov and A. Belikov, deputy minister of the coal industry, many workers became doubtful about the need to actually go on strike in order to influence ministries and departments which are not too diligent in meeting their demands.

Not all mines stopped work at midnight on 24 October, as initially planned by the city conference of workers (strike) committees. A vote was taken, and a sizeable proportion of workers voted against the strike. Only 3 of the 13 "Vorkutaugol" mines stopped work on 25 October.

We got in touch with the city workers (strike) committee at 1100 hours on 26 October. The person on duty announced that a further six mines had stopped work at midnight, while "Vorkutinskaya," "Zapolyarnaya," "Oktyabrskaya," and "Yur-Shor" mines were still working. A conference of strike committees was being held at the trade union territorial committee at that time to discuss the strike's duration. The debate produced a decision that all mines should resume work as of midnight on 26 October.

Ukrainian Miners Refuse Call To Strike

LD2610231289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1346 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (TASS)—A TASS correspondent reports:

The strike committee of the miners of Voroshilovgrad oblast in the Ukraine today turned down the call of miners in Polar Vorkuta to resume their strike. Having reported that, the Ukrainian agency RATAU added that the Donetsk miners gave two motives behind their decision: First, demands of a political nature, which are being put forward by the miners of Vorkuta, are unacceptable to them; and second, they believe it is easier for northerners to go on strike than southerners—the average earnings of a mining worker at the Vorkuta mine of Khalmer-yu are over R2,500 a month, while they are several times lower in the Donetsk basin of the Ukraine.

A spokesman of the strike committee of Donetsk miners stated that the government has made concrete decisions on their just demands, and now it is important to achieve their implementation without interrupting work. It is also necessary, he stated, to improve miners' information on how the implementation of their demands is proceeding.

As is known, the strike committees of the miners were formed last summer when the strikes of miners demanding an improvement in their living and working conditions, and also the expansion of the rights of their enterprises, spread through the mines of the Kuznetsk basin (southern Siberia) and subsequently other coal regions of the country, including the Donetsk (Ukraine) and Vorkuta (Polar) basins. As has already been reported, the main demands of the miners have already been fulfilled. However, there are also among them problems which require a great deal of time to be resolved.

The former strikers are attentively following the process of the implementation of the agreements achieved. Today, for instance, RATAU reported a meeting of the regional council of strike committees of the Donetsk coal basin, at which the stage of the implementation of the miners' demands were discussed. Dissatisfaction was expressed with the position of the leadership of the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry. However, the council did not support the proposal to resume the strike. Out of 24 members of the council, just 5 voted in favor of resuming it, 18 were opposed and 1 abstained. It was decided to hold a referendum in the mining collectives on this question and to discuss its results at a new meeting of the council on 31 October.

The earlier report from Mezhdurechensk, (Kemerovo coal basin), where 2 days ago a 2-hour warning strike was held, was confirmed today. Both miners and railroad workers of the transport directorate of the coal department took part in it. Staff of the main railway routes did not take part in the strike, having sent 691 wagons with coal from the station of Mezhdurechensk that day. It seems appropriate to recall that in the middle of this month the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted a law on the procedure for resolving collective labor disputes, which, for the first time, lays down a legal basis concerning the holding strikes in the Soviet Union.

Kemerovo Railway Workers Condemn Miners' Strikes

LD2610091189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 23 October, in a TASS item, there was information about the railway workers participating in a warning strike with Mezhdurechensk [Kemerovo Oblast] miners. In a telegram received at the editorial office today, signed by (Tuleyev), head of the railway; Nikifirov, chairman of the Railroad Committee of the Trade Union of Railway Workers; and (Zaylov) chairman of the Work Collective Council, it says that the workers of the Kemerovo railroad did not participate either in the warning strike or in the organized July strikes of the miners. On the contrary, in condemning the strikes, the railwaymen provided a precise rhythm of work for the transport conveyor.

Kiev Conference on Chernobyl Ends

LD2610122289 Moscow TASS in English 2340 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Kiev October 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yelena Alikhanyan:

Three and a half years after the Chernobyl atomic power plant disaster, researchers continue debating possible consequences of the catastrophe.

Their conclusions are coloured by emotions ranging from gloomy pessimism to euphoric optimism. The resulting diversity arises from the use of different techniques and equipment, as well as from differing concepts and principles the researches proceeded from.

This was noted in closing at the two-day academic conference in Kiev. The conference discussed the state of health of the population in the affected areas situated in close proximity to the 30-kilometer zone around the Chernobyl atomic power plant.

The forum, the convocation of which was demanded by the public, assembled scientists, physicians and health ministry officials, representatives of the state agroindustrial committee and the republican hydrometeorological administration, as well as members of the public directly concerned with the disaster.

Physicians reported that they had a complete picture of the state of health of the population in the affected areas. Indices for some diseases proved much in excess of those before the Chernobyl accident, which is explained by the harmful radiation effects.

Physicians reported numerous cases of radiophobia, a kind of neurosis calling for thorough diagnosing, prevention and treatment measures.

The conference discussed measures to minimize or eradicate possible negative consequences of the disaster. Scientists specified maximum admissible radiation doses. The theoretically substantiated limit for the population of areas under surveillance is established at 35 ber [expansion unknown] for the period between April 1986 and the year 2060.

As farming areas proved to be the worst affected, special attention was paid by conference participants to presentations by representatives of the republican agroindustrial committee.

Radiologists have used the latest scientific techniques to trace radionuclide migration and transport and developed new techniques of soil treatment and fertilization to obtain "cleaner" crops.

As a result of extensive actions, the problem of obtaining "clean" meat and milk in the public sector has been resolved.

Zoologists and hydrobiologists called for establishing natural preserves in Polesye to let nature take its course over decades to come to recover its balance on expansive affected areas.

Another prospect that came under discussion was that of building facilities for reprocessing and burying radioactive waste on the basis of incomplete units 5 and 6 of the Chernobyl atomic power station.

Charges Filed in Lvov Militia Fracas

90UN0068A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Oct 89 p 3

[Statement by Prosecutor of Lvov Oblast L.F. Izosimov: "On the incident in Lvov"]

[Text] The Lvov Oblast Prosecutor's Office has filed criminal charges concerning the events which occurred in the evening of 1 October in downtown Lvov. A RATAU [Radio and Telegraph Agency of the Ukraine] correspondent asked the oblast prosecutor, L.F. Izosimov, to comment on this decision. He said:

"We are very concerned about the situation which has recently emerged in Lvov. The increasingly frequent cases of picketing of buildings and state offices, meetings and street processions which interfere with the normal flow of traffic and disrupt public order give rise to concern. The incident concerning which the charges were filed also had grave consequences. It all began when a group of representatives of informal organizations which had blocked the building of the city Internal Affairs Department demanded that Revt, who had supposedly been detained, be set free. Despite the clarification by the law enforcement organs to the effect that citizen Revt had not been detained by anybody, the aroused crowd began to press against the militia cordon. A skirmish occurred, as a result of which people were injured on both sides. According to the information we have, 15 citizens sought help at health care facilities, and one of them was hospitalized. Also, 16 militia employees were injured; three of them are receiving in-patient care.

"The Prosecutor's Office has set itself the goal of investigating the causes and circumstances of what has happened objectively and comprehensively. Only the results of the investigation will make it possible to come up with a correct evaluation of the events and the persons involved in them which is substantiated by the law.

"The Prosecutor's Office brought all of this to the attention of the populace through the mass media and at a meeting which was held on 3 October. A team was set up consisting of the professionally most competent investigators of the Lvov and other oblast prosecutor's offices. The investigation is being carried out vigorously."

KGB Chief Interviewed on 'New' Directorate

PM2610174189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V.A. Kryuchkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR KGB, by IZVESTIYA correspondent R. Ignatyev: "Perestroyka in the KGB"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Ignatyev] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, what is the reason for the creation of a new subunit within the USSR KGB structure—the Directorate for the Defense of the Soviet Constitutional System?

[Kryuchkov] Indeed, in accordance with a government resolution the Directorate for the Defense of the Soviet Constitutional System has been set up within the KGB. I will not be giving any secrets away if I say that it was the security officers themselves who initiated the formation of this subunit within the system of the state security organs. The same decision abolished the Fifth Directorate of the USSR KGB, which was formed in 1967 and had the task of combating enemy ideological subversion. The organizational changes are of a principled nature.

We see this as one component in the substantial perestroyka in the activity of state security organs. It should be stressed that this decision was determined first and foremost by important changes in the political and operational situation in our country and the world as a whole, which security officers have to take into account in their work. In the international arena the new political thinking is forging a path for itself to an ever increasing extent. A favorable climate is developing in interstate relations, a considerable expansion of international ties, contacts, and exchanges is taking place, and new forms of cooperation are springing up in the economic, humanitarian, and other spheres. In an atmosphere of broad glasnost and the growth of sociopolitical activeness among Soviet people, a profound reform of the political system is taking place, our economy is undergoing a transformation, and the process of forming a socialist rule-of-law state is under way. However, some people, both at home and abroad, seek to exploit the renewal process to weaken and undermine socialism.

One of the most important avenues of the state security organs' work is the defense of the Soviet constitutional system against the subversive activity of foreign states' special services and anti-Soviet centers abroad and against the criminal encroachments of antisocialist elements within the country. It is to resolve these tasks that the new subunit is being set up within the USSR KGB system.

Of course, the defense of the constitutional system in general is not only the function of the new directorate and other subunits of the state security organs. It is a major statewide task whose resolution, under the USSR Constitution, is entrusted to all state organs and social organizations, officials, and every citizen of the Soviet Union. And here it must be noted that the new KGB subunit will tackle its tasks strictly under the guidance of existing laws and within the framework of the official competence of state security organs.

[Ignatyev] What was the reason originally for the creation of the USSR KGB directorate which you called the Fifth? What functions did it fulfill, and why has it been abolished?

[Kryuchkov] Let us make a short excursion into history, so as to make the explanations clearer to your readers, and especially to young people.

In the immediate postwar years, the special services of a number of foreign states and associated anti-Soviet emigre organizations and centers oriented their hostile activity against the USSR toward the creation of an organized underground in our country and the application of the most trenchant and dangerous forms of struggle. Later, as socialism grew stronger and military-strategic parity was gradually achieved in the international arena, the idea was put forward in the West of making the most efficient possible use of "peaceful," "flexible" means of undermining the socialist system, along with the buildup of the arms race.

In the early 60's, the doctrine of the "erosion of socialism from within" was officially proclaimed. The special services' subversive activity began to be oriented toward the organization of a hostile ideological influence on a certain section of the population of the USSR and the socialist community countries, with a view to emasculating it and eroding its political and ideological foundations. This activity had many of the attributes of intelligence operations and was carried out with the use of secret forces and resources, closely combined with mass subversive propaganda. This activity became known at that time as "ideological subversion."

At that time the organization of counterintelligence work to combat acts of ideological subversion was entrusted to the Fifth Directorate within the USSR KGB. The staffers of that directorate and security officers of the corresponding local subunits cut short a whole series of large-scale subversive operations by the foreign special services, discovered and unmasked hundreds of envoys, and—most important—prevented some Soviet citizens from embarking on a path of committing state crimes. And the directorate's main method of work even then, and I would like to stress this, was the use of preventive measures, not criminal repressive measures.

The orgy of terrorism which has swept the world since the early seventies has also influenced certain socially dangerous elements in our country. The fight against terrorism was a very important task of this counterintelligence component and demanded corresponding efforts on the part of the security officers. In the past it was somehow not talked about, but I want to cite the following facts: In the 1970-80 period, KGB organs identified more than 1,500 individuals with terrorist designs.

It should also be noted that the five KGB components were guided in their work by the laws as they stood. There were mistakes and shortcomings in this work and, unfortunately, occasions where they went too far. This was due partly to the fact that the legislation at the time, for example Article 70 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Criminal Code (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), Article 190 (1) (deliberately spreading false information discrediting the Soviet state and social system), and certain others, was not clear enough and was susceptible to broad and, to some extent subjective interpretation. As a consequence of this, KGB organs would take preventive measures sometimes in trivial cases, to some extent assume the functions of other state and public organs, and, in some cases, take criminal action against people.

In conditions of democratization and the development of glasnost there have been many significant changes in the work of law-enforcement organs. This is reflected in new legal acts which KGB organs were involved in devising. Article 190 (1) has been removed from the RSFSR Criminal Code. Similar decisions have been made in connection with the union republics' criminal codes. The USSR Supreme Soviet modified Article 7 of the Law "On Criminal Liability for State Crimes," which now clearly states that public appeals for the violent overthrow or change of the Soviet state and social system and also the spreading of such material to that end are regarded as state crimes. This narrowed down the elements of the crime and made them more specific. Thoughts and beliefs in themselves, whatever they may be, do not constitute a crime unless they become the actions mentioned in the law. They belong to the realm of individuals' philosophies, and this is the sphere of activity of other state and public organizations, and not of the state security organs.

[Ignatyev] What tasks will the newly created KGB directorate be tackling? To what extent will its work be connected with the law-enforcement organs' struggle against organized crime?

[Kryuchkov] I want to say that the personnel of the Directorate for the Defense of the Soviet Constitutional System have difficult tasks to tackle, which require security officers to have a high standard of legal education and special knowledge, and, above all, a thoughtful, humane approach to everyone. The new directorate's main tasks will include, first and foremost, work on frustrating the plans of foreign special services to set up organized antistate groupings in our country and use them for anticonstitutional purposes; preventing and stopping criminal actions by people trying to overthrow or change the Soviet state and social system by violent means; detecting and stopping terrorist acts; and using security forces and resources to prevent mass disorder and other unlawful manifestations of an extremist nature. Directorate personnel will also be actively involved in the determined struggle against organized crime.

In view of the political and operational situation in a number of regions of the country the security officers' efforts will be geared to combatting anticonstitutional actions aimed at kindling interethnic strife and, above all, attempts to provoke extremist actions involving the use of weapons or explosives. In their letters to the KGB, working people are rightly demanding that the security officers step up their work in this area. The personnel of the new directorate will focus attention on protecting Soviet society from specific criminal encroachments only within the framework of their competence. They will be guided in their work by the provisions of the USSR Constitution and other legislative norms.

As for our involvement in the fight against organized crime, as you may have noticed from a number of reports in the media, security officers are already involved and this involvement will grow. Members of criminal groups use large sums of money to bribe certain representatives of the authorities and influence their actions and are actually impinging on the Soviet state's security interests.

I will take this opportunity to address another issue. People often ask about the moral makeup of the security officer. I must say that the moral makeup of KGB organs' personnel is very important for all its components, irrespective of the tasks they perform. We keep a close eye on it. The words of Feliks Edmundovich Dzerzhinskiy, that a security officer must have a "cool head, a warm heart, and clean hands," are not an empty slogan as far as our personnel are concerned. We make sure we get rid of anyone who could be a stain on their purity. This is acknowledged even by those who, to put it mildly, are prejudiced toward us.

[Ignatyev] Will the abolition of the Fifth Directorate mean a USSR KGB staff reduction and result in vacant buildings?

[Kryuchkov] The old Fifth Directorate had one of the smallest staffs in the state security organs system and occupied part of an administrative building. Its abolition is essentially part of the process of improving the work of the apparatus, which is taking place in the KGB, as in other departments. Some of the directorate's personnel have retired, some have been sent to other components of the state security organs in the center and in the provinces to continue service. The creation of the Directorate for the Protection of the Soviet Constituitional System required a certain regrouping of forces, which is now taking place.

The dynamic processes taking place in our society and in the international arena as well demand that security officers react appropriately and swiftly, therefore perestroyka is continuing in state security organs.

MOSCOW NEWS Editor on Glasnost, Press

PM2710090289 Paris LIBERATION in French 20 Oct 89 pp 20-21

[Interview with MOSCOW NEWS editor Yegor Yakovlev by Alexandre Adler and Bernard Cohen in Paris—date not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Shaken out of its bureaucratic torpor with the arrival of Yegor Yakovlev at its head in August 1986, MOSCOW NEWS is making a media breakthrough on all fronts: It has become a vital reference point for progressive supporters of Gorbachev, its French edition has been given a face-lift, and it is preparing to publish its weekly English edition in London from next month. During a brief stopover in Paris, 59-year old Yegor Yakovlev discussed the state of MOSCOW NEWS with LIBERATION and summed up the current situation in the USSR by citing the opening sentence of Tolstoy's "Anna Karenina": "Everything was topsy-turvy in the Oblonskiy household." That was a few days before Mikhail Gorbachev summoned the editors of Soviet newspapers to admonish them.

LIBERATION: What do you think about the current debate on press freedom in the USSR?

Yegor Yakovlev: I think that the bill on the press, which has already been approved by three Supreme Soviet commissions and which makes provision for eliminating prior censhorship and giving groups and associations the right to freely edit their newspapers, is very positive. But it is important to remember Lenin's remark that complete press freedom is impossible while the paper supply problem persists.

LIBERATION: Are you still suffering the effects of censorship? There was the case of a MOSCOW NEWS report on the Soviet-Chinese border being banned....

Yegor Yakovlev: That was the result of military censorship. "Glavlit" (the official censorship committee—LIBERATION editor's note) is primarily interested in journals. I have not had any problems recently. When the Tbilisi demonstrations were repressed last year, I received a telephone call from the censorship official asking me not to publish the report. We did not give in, and when the newspaper was printed, the censor preferred not to put his stamp on it, and this means that that issue was the first to appear without a censorship permit.... In an interview to L'HUMANITE, Mikhail Gorbachev made it clear that censorship could only be applied to state secrets, and as a Communist I follow what the general secretary says....

LIBERATION: What progress has been made in your plans for cooperation with British press magnate Robert Maxwell, notably with regard to the computerization of your newspaper which was announced with a flourish last year?

Yegor Yakovlev: The work has been delayed somewhat, mainly because of the small size of our offices. We have just received an additional 2,000 square meters of office space. We have signed a 15-year agreement with Robert Maxwell for the publication of the newspaper in all the Anglo-Saxon countries. And before the end of the year, we will be printing and distributing directly in Madrid. Our main problem is still paper: In 3 years, the Russian edition increased from 100,000 copies to 3 million copies, and the foreign language editions to 1.5 million copies. Robert Maxwell is also planning to establish a huge paper works in the USSR.

LIBERATION: Will MOSCOW NEWS continue to give an important place to "historical glasnost," to the clarification of the Stalinist past?

Yegor Yakovlev: The newspaper is now launching a new rubric: "Crimes under Peretroyka." The aim is to expose the lies or distortions which continue to occur now. For instance, the real level of radioactivity in Bielorussia was concealed after the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

LIBERATION: Several Soviet journalists have been attacked or physically threatened because they were investigating the "mafia" in the USSR. Are the black market and crime becoming "dangerous" subjects for the press in Moscow?

Yegor Yakovlev: The root of this problem is primarily political too. Having said that, when I leave the office each evening, I merge into the crowd in downtown Moscow—a very varied and colorful crowd. The other day, my wife asked me if I was ever afraid of doing so, and I then realized that I would never have thought about it if she had not asked me that question...

People's deputy/members of the USSR Supreme Soviet were recently furnished information to be pondered—they were handed a TASS brochure "Concerning the Ethics of Debates in the House of Commons in the British Parliament." The reading is interesting—after all, Westminster considers itself by right to be "the mother of parliaments." But if an attempt is made to compare the "English" parliamentary workdays with those that are home-bred, then only one similarity can be named specifically: Neither here nor there is there a written regulation. However, while "they" for centuries have managed to get by with such a refined gentleman's instrument as tradition, in this country such a basic document as Regulations of the Supreme Soviet has simply not been written yet. In other words, the work of our parliament up until now, in fact, has been "a game without rules," which at times confronts its participants with serious problems.

Here is a case in recent days. It occurred at a plenary meeting of the chambers when there was a paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of the draft USSR Law on Procedures for Allowing Collective Labor Disputes. Governmental representative V. Shcherbakov, chairman of USSR Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], asked that the government's formulation of one of the paragraphs of the law be put up for a separate vote. At which time Deputy S. Stankevich, one of the few deputies, incidentally, who understands the procedural niceties of the world's practice of parliamentarism, took the floor on regulations. He proposed to refine the role that is played at plenary meetings of the Supreme Soviet by representatives of trade unions and of other "fellows of legislative initiative."

In his opinion, they do not have the right in the course of a meeting of the chambers to introduce plenary amendments and to insist that they be voted on, because then they become legislators with an advisory vote. But according to the constitution, such a status is given only to people's deputies who are not members of the Supreme Soviet.

A. Lukyanov, who was presiding, proposed that these considerations of Deputy S. Stankevich be discussed in the Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order. And there is really something to think about here—the doubt expressed by the deputy essentially, of course, would not have arisen if Supreme Soviet Regulations were prepared.

Both the deputies and the press have complained more than once that the plenary debates quite often exceed the limits of parliamentary rules and ethics, at times alluding to the "numerous telegrams" of work collectives or voters, and that certain deputies are attempting to dictate hasty and poorly reasoned decisions, most likely based on emotions, by changing the procedural mechanism that protects the parliament from populistic and arbitrary decisions. Efficient work is not promoted in the Supreme Soviet by the lack of organization and duplication in the work of its commissions and committees, whose status (like the status of the deputies themselves) is also not defined by regulations.

And here, very likely, examples of the ethics of debate from the practice of English parliamentarians would be quite appropriate. But, in our view, there is still another valuable source of parliamentary wisdom—our own country. Because we have had a representative legislative establishment—the State Duma, which, at the very least, existed for 12 years—from 1908 to the fall of the autocracy. Of course, this is not centuries-old parliamentary tradition, but neither should that which the Duma "turned out" be neglected.

Let us begin with the fact that the Duma proceeded to examine a draft law no earlier than within 3 days after the deputies received an unsealed report of the pertinent commission. Amendments to the draft law were received for review only when they were submitted under the signature of not less than 10 deputies. Laws were adopted after the third reading, which, in essence, was the second paragraph-by-paragraph reading, and this protected against the adoption of amendments that could have passed during the first paragraph-by-paragraph reading under the announcement of a "random majority."

I would also like to recall these Duma rules. Requests to make a speech were made only in writing. Reading of speeches was prohibited, and one could only refer to his papers for quotations and figures. There was a qualified concept of "minority" in the Duma, and the rights of the minority were guaranteed: A proposal to stop debating or to reduce the time for a speech went into effect only if less than 100 of the 434 deputies voted "nay"—in this way the "majority" was not able to deprive the "minority" of a voice. Budgetary and tax draft laws were voted by roll-call only. Queries to the government were submitted under the signature of not less than 30 deputies. The essence of the query was brought to the attention of the deputies on the same day. The government was obliged to reply to the query in the course of a month. During a session, one or two evening meetings were set aside each week for answers to the queries.

I think that this short excursion into the rules by which the State Duma worked shows that, first, they were not inferior to the British rules, and, second, that even back then the importance and necessity for Duma Regulations was established by the deputies, and they were not done that badly. And, it follows, they deserve attentive study so that everything that is rational and useful is also used in the Regulations of the Supreme Soviet—because this is our national duty!

But what is the situation with the Regulations of the Supreme Soviet? Last Thursday, at a meeting of the Committee on Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, Deputy K. Lubenchenko, chairman of the subcommittee in which already the third version of the draft of this very important document is being worked on, reported on its general features. Incidentally, the experience of parliaments of other countries is utilized in the draft, on which not only deputies, but also experts, worked, and it corresponds in its structure, as the saying goes, to the world standard.

At the same time, discussion of the draft Regulations in the Supreme Soviet will not be easy: A number of problems suggests that there will be sharp discussions. Thus, the staff of the secretariat of the Supreme Soviet is extremely small (600 persons in comparison with 34,000 employees of the U.S. Congress, or in comparison with several hundreds of workers of different ministries). Meanwhile, the volume of work of our higher legislative organ is already huge and is continuously growing. Deputies also propose that the numerical size of the staff be defined more precisely, and also the principle of rotation of deputies. Practice has already shown that, on the one hand, about 800 deputies who are not members of the Supreme Soviet participate permanently in the work of the Supreme Soviet and its committees and commissions, and, on the other hand, the ballast is also great—not a few deputies, for all practical purposes, are not active.

The electronic voting system has brought up an unexpected problem. First, it has turned open voting into secret voting and thereby conceals the obvious dread of many deputies of roll-call voting. Second, the permanent joint meetings of the chambers eliminates the differences in their special tasks. Questions of a quorum, the application of the principle of consensus, and guarantees of the interests of the minority have not been worked out yet. Thought should also be given to the periodicity of the work of the Supreme Soviet—the experience of parliaments of various countries shows that they work virtually year-round, with a minimum of parliamentary holidays. And a lot of other matters have to find a place in the Regulations, part of which, in the opinion of deputies, can be static, and part—dynamic and changing to the extent that Soviet parliamentary traditions take root.

It is proposed to submit the current version of the draft Regulations within 2 weeks to the Supreme Soviet for a "zero," procedural reading, after which there will follow, apparently, a first and then a second paragraph-by-paragraph reading. This prolonged process of consideration is explained by the importance and complexity of this procedural document, which is designed to make [illegible] work of our parliament more organized, accurate, [illegible]cient, democratic, and based on a legalized status and procedures.

Zaykov on Moscow Economic Accountability

PM1710115589 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[TASS report under the rubric "At Moscow City Party Committee": "The Goal Is Economic Accountability and Self-Management"]

[Excerpts] As already reported, progress in Moscow's preparations to introduce economically accountable relations and to develop self-management was discussed at an enlarged session of the Moscow CPSU City Committee [gorkom] Bureau 15 September.

Gathered in the hall were members of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Commission for Questions of Socioeconomic Development and of Moscow City Soviet standing commissions, leaders of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] and its services, first secretaries of rayon party committees [raykoms], chairmen of rayon soviet executive committees [rayispolkoms], rayon planning commissions, and rayon control and auditing commissions, representatives of trade union organs, and leaders of the capital's enterprises. Also invited were L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; S.A. Sitaryan, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee [Gosplan]; V.G. Panskov, USSR first deputy finance minister; other leaders of central ministries and departments, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee. The question was examined at what was essentially a meeting of the capital's party, soviet, and economic aktiv.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, opened it with an introductory speech. The program for transferring the city and its rayons to economic accountability [khozraschet] and developing self-management, he emphasized, is essentially the platform of Moscow's Communists in the upcoming local soviet elections.

The restructuring of the management mechanism, which is being carried out in the country, still has a departmental, sectorial thrust. Laggardness in the restructuring of territorial management has in many ways resulted in rising prices, the "flushing out" of cheap goods, and the concentration of unrealized funds in enterprises.

The political reform has significantly outstripped the economic one. The sovereignty of the soviets is not reinforced by economic levers. The management structures created in the city are not producing the desired result because they are not reinforced by the economic mechanism. And this is hindering the transfer of functions from the city to the rayons. It is necessary to eliminate the population's alienation from the processes of management of the capital's development and the formation and utilization of its budget.

Moscow Gorispolkom Chairman V.T. Saykin delivered the report. [passage omitted]

A.M. Bryachikhin, first secretary of Sevastopolskiy CPSU Raykom, who delivered the coreport for the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Commission for Questions of Socioeconomic Development, on the whole approved the draft document [basic provisions for the introduction of khozraschet relations and the development of self-management in Moscow]. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, K.B. Shor, chief of the Moscow City Administration of the USSR State Bank [Gosbank], pointed out, the draft does not reflect the place of banks in the system of regional khozraschet. We can see that under the new conditions the banking system must have two levels: state and commercial. At the same time banks need the same degree of economic independence as state enterprises. Banks still have little influence over enterprises' economic activity and money circulation. All the blame for delaying payment of wages must not be put on cooperatives, for the imperfect nature of our economic mechanism has led to unjustified growth in wages also in state enterprises.

L.N. Zaykov: But, if you please, Moscow's income is considerably in excess of the expenditure part of the cash plan. Why, then, does the USSR Gosbank's subdivision in the capital not protect the interests of the city's working people but instead lets our money disappear into other regions even before the bank's obligations to labor collectives have been fulfilled?

A.I. Zemskov, first secretary of Voroshilovskiy CPSU Raykom, took the floor. All the rayons' affairs cannot be controlled from the center, he said. Responsibility must be clearly shared between city functions and the powers of the rayon link. For example, the decoupling of the rayons' responsibility for the careful preservation of cultural objects should be examined. The rayons' rights in levying municipal taxes must be widened. The speaker proposed more concretely grouping rayons of the same kind and shedding light in the draft on the prospect of developing local self-management.

L.N. Zaykov: Differences between rayons must be taken into account, but parochial sentiments must not be allowed to overshadow the city's integrity. [passage omitted]

Academician L.I. Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, took the floor. I wholeheartedly support the development of khozraschet relations in our economy, including regional khozraschet, he said, and I believe that this is one of the most key questions of the reform, without which we will be unable to extricate the economy from its present state.

Naturally, I fully support the proposals aimed at introducing these methods in our motherland's capital. However, while pinning great hopes on khozraschet, we must, at the same time, keep a cool head and understand clearly where we are going.

It is clear, above all, that an easy life is not foreseen. It is not only a question of securing more rights and more independence and ensuring the democratization process. It is also a question of having the city and its soviet organs assume full responsibility before the capital's population for the resolution of economic, social, ecological, and other problems. On the completion of the switch to full khozraschet there will be no one to complain about, and we ourselves will have to answer for everything on securing full power.

It must be borne in mind that the city will obtain no additional resources on switching to khozraschet. For these can be obtained only if they are taken from someone, from another republic or another city.

There can be an increase in resources only if additional ones are created by means of engaging economic levers, through social activeness, and on the understanding that the means earned will remain here, in the city or the rayon, will not be removed to somewhere else, but will go to resolve our own economic and social tasks. I think that one of the central problems—and it is very important that this question is discussed precisely in the party gorkom bureau—is to place political and ideological accents correctly when we put this to Muscovites. This is an attempt to find a real link between the way Muscovites work and the way they live. And it is the task of khozraschet to make this link close, immediate, and direct.

So far, unfortunately, we are going through a very difficult, critical period, when all attention is concentrated not on earning funds nor on increasing production volumes and improving production efficiency but on redistributing and sharing out what has already been created.

The situation in the national economy is such that with regard to the most important products taken into account in the physical balances of the state plan there is a slow yet steady absolute reduction in the volumes of output produced in the country. But at the same time we still wish to live better.

I will make a small digression. What government agreements provide for, under the understanding with the miners, is costing the country approximately R2.5-3 billion. This means that, evenly distributing this sum, each of us—working and nonworking—has allocated R10 to implement these measures. Of course, they could simply have been printed in the printing house of the Main Administration for the Production of State Bank Notes, Coins, and Medals, which is located in the capital. But then, as a result of the increased budget deficit, our purchasing power would still be reduced indirectly by R10 each. There is no other way. Although public opinion has different ideas. When a sociological study was being conducted, particularly in the Donbass, this question was put: Do you believe that the government has all the necessary material resources to satisfy the miners' demands? Three-fourths replied: Yes, of course it has everything. You have only to apply a little pressure, and it will at once appear. But from where? A question in this connection: When all the republics and capital centers have gone over to full khozraschet, will we again satisfy strikers' demands through the centralized union budget or from the budget of the republic and Moscow City?

Does it not turn out that by such actions we push local organs of power into siding with the strike movement, unite their efforts against the central power, and pull the country's national economy apart? This is very dangerous. So, we want there to be a workers khozraschet, a khozraschet that actually works, oriented toward production and toward augmenting the wealth of production.

The question of a precise definition of what can be done in 1990 was put absolutely correctly. This really is the first step, the official acceptance of a system slotted into the actual economic situation and the current 5-year plan, with the whole system of established normatives. By the 13th 5-Year Plan we may attain a totally different model. Then there will be no normatives at all, only a stable tax on profits which will not change for 5 or perhaps even 10 years. There are proposals on these questions in the makeup of the laws which the government was entrusted with drawing up and which have now been submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet and are being examined by it.

Moscow's special status is a basic, fundamental question which must be resolved. This is its special status as the capital of the union state with the rights of a union republic. Moscow's khozraschet must be written into the overall model.

I believe that we must prepare in general for a qualitatively new nature of work by 1991. The 13th 5-Year Plan will determine the volume of the state order and of deliveries of consumer goods, let us say, into the union fund and the quotas for centrally distributed resources. We must learn to trade and to buy in exchange for this. We are approaching the point where, as of 1991, relations in the national economy will be organized by means of an agreement among the republics. The Gosplan only directs, while all the republics trade directly, except for centrally distributed output: oil, gas, coal, grain, defense output.

This is a totally new type of economic relations, which must be given an organizational base connected with the creation of a wholesale trade system, the holding of Moscow-wide trade fairs concerning the means of production, and the organization of information and other services for enterprises which, without this, will not be able to establish contacts with their numerous partners. It is necessary to prepare for this. This is a very big question, without which khozraschet will not work.

Next. Taking into account the very complex situation in the national economy and the need for radical solutions, the government submitted to the Supreme Soviet the draft budget for 1990, which provides for a halving of the budget deficit from R120 billion this year to R60 billion next year. This is a radical program of improvement, but nonetheless it is also an official acknowledgment of a deficit of R60 billion.

Under the new conditions of the economic reform it is proposed to cover this deficit by issuing state promissory notes, as is done throughout the world. These are securities to the tune of R60 billion with a payment of 5-percent annual interest to those who acquire these securities disseminated through the USSR Gosbank system. Of these, R49 billion will be covered by issuing securities on a union scale—that is, by the USSR Ministry of Finance—while R11 billion will be distributed among the union republics with recommendations to them to float similar loans.

I believe that Moscow should not avoid participation in this program of financial improvement. And Moscow's financial organs and banking establishments must prepare for this. It is a quite profitable, efficient investment of funds. We will not close up this hole simply by issuing more money.

In addition, it is proposed to grant the republics and, thus, Moscow too, the right to float additional targeted loans, distributed both among enterprises and economic organizations and among the population, in order to attract additional resources with a view to funding certain social infrastructure projects, the provision of public services and amenities, and so forth. These are totally new conditions, for which we must be ready.

To turn to the system of taxes. Of course, it is possible to argue over who levies them—the city or the rayon. Extremes are out of place here. It is necessary to seek sensible solutions, and these are proposed in the draft Law on a Unified Tax System.

It is a question of the following. Every enterprise makes payments into three budgets: union, republic, and local. Moscow's status is important here because, if we conventionally equate it with a republic, the question is decided automatically—tax into the union budget, tax into Moscow's budget, understood as a republic budget, and tax into the rayon budget.

Deductions into the union budget are envisaged to the tune of approximately 35 percent of enterprises' profits with due regard for the need to fund defense, social programs, health care, education, ecological programs, and major scientific and technical programs of statewide significance. This is an independent form of payment. But there are two more tax channels: republic and local.

The only problem which arises in this connection in Moscow is the difference between industrial and "dormitory" rayons, and here a very delicate question arises. It is possible to get away from a unified tax system, but this opens up the way for arbitrariness. With the introduction of this tax system all the currently existing payments into ministries' centralized funds are abolished. This is a simple and very clear-cut system which removes a mass of problems. But another problem arises: What about the rayons? If they are set an identical tax rate, some will be poor and others rich. This is the uniqueness of Moscow, and it requires Moscow to be viewed not as the sum of its rayons but as a unified Moscow economic complex, because we cannot, of course, manage without a certain redistribution of resources and without subsidies for individual rayons, which must be legislatively enshrined and approved by a Moscow City Soviet session.

The second problem is connected with the fact that, after establishing the proportion of deductions into the union budget, the republic acquires the independent right to establish taxes on enterprises' profits. Here the danger arises of coming into conflict with the independence, rights, and protection of interests of the production collective—that is, a danger of taking an ax to the very bough on which we are sitting. For the physical production sphere is the source of all income. Therefore our proposals include norms which put an upper limit on the sum of the deductions so as not to violate these rights.

In this connection I would like to continue the topic raised by V.P. Shcherbakov. In this case I am expressing my own personal opinion as a scientist. Our institute's proposals were not accepted in the past when the electoral system was being shaped. I support a two-chamber structure for local soviets. One chamber is elected from the territory, depending on the number of residents, and the second chamber by direct elections from labor collectives of all kinds—by workers, teachers, and physicians who unite among themselves. This ensures the full representation of social interests and can resolve one of the most complex and delicate problems of local taxation. Let us say, a program to build a music school in the rayon is being discussed in the labor collectives' chamber. There is no money. Let us club together, share the cost among everyone, and vote that we introduce a local tax for a year or two, but a targeted tax, so that it does not end up in the general kitty which can be used for the rayispolkom, to repair its premises, or to acquire motor vehicles. No, we deduct money not into the general kitty of the local budget but into a special account. And then everyone will vote. And they express the common opinion of the rayon's labor collectives.

It is possible to provide that the introduction of a local tax on the profits of enterprises located on the rayon's territory can be adopted only with the consent of both chambers. I do not know whether we are ready to take this step in these elections. Perhaps it is necessary once again to raise the question of some experimental check. But this is one of the means of removing a mass of problems of social tension and resolving financial questions.

I would like to speak also about cooperatives, since these questions are arousing big emotions today. We now need generally to begin cooling down when resolving any question. We must proceed from emotions to reason and strict reckoning, with an assessment of the pluses and minuses of proposed solutions. We must not yield to emotions and kindle passions over individual questions.

The party and the government have a principled stand on this question. It consists of the following points: The first is the all-possible development of cooperatives as a socialist form of management. The second point speaks of the need to create equal management conditions for all state and cooperative enterprises and establishments from the viewpoint of independence, rights, price formation, and material and technical supplies. And the third is regard for local and regional peculiarities, including ethnic ones.

The documents submitted by the government to the Supreme Soviet 1 September include amendments to the Law on Cooperatives. I would like to note four points.

It is proposed to amend the procedure for creating and liquidating cooperatives and to give the deputies' commissions of the local soviet the right to vote on this. Not the executive organs, but to the deputies' commissions, which can examine questions raised by various organizations, including trade unions, of closing down particular cooperatives. And not on an emotional level but on the basis of serious arguments. The procedure for opening up cooperatives and the procedure for closing them down must be coincident: Whoever gives permission also has the right to take it back.

A number of questions of cooperatives' material and technical supplies and of establishing dependence between prices and the level of material and technical supplies are being examined. In particular, cooperatives which sell goods and provide services at state prices are equated with state enterprises with regard to conditions of material and technical supplies. All these questions must also be decided in unity: We must not hold prices in check but then not supply resources.

A fundamentally important point prohibiting leading workers of state organs, leaders of enterprises and associations, chief accountants of establishments, and also working people in organs which monitor cooperatives' activities from being members of cooperatives and working in them for hire has been adopted and included in the draft.

And, finally, it is of fundamental importance that a resolution on taxing the wages of cooperative members, which approaches the norms which have now been adopted in state enterprises, is being submitted together with the draft law on amendments to the Law on Cooperatives. A definite base level is being laid down, above which an increase is taxed on a rigid progressive scale.

Territorial economic independence, L.N. Zaykov said in conclusion [of the session], must start with cities and rayons, with the building of economic relations between labor collectives and local organs of management.

Moscow is one of the most significant units of the USSR national economy. It produces up to 10 percent of the most important types of output and has a population and volumes of social services comparable with the largest union republics, while the city rayons are comparable with oblast centers.

The transfer of Moscow's economy to khozraschet relations is designed to accelerate the progress of the economic reform, to overcome its sectorial nature, to resolve social problems, and to eliminate a consumer attitude toward the city's resources. It will give the Moscow Gorispolkom and rayispolkoms real economic regulators of the production and sales of goods and services, price formation, and money circulation and will make it possible to strengthen the city and rayon budgets and to get away from a cost-based economy.

The transfer in 1990 to the new procedure for forming the city and rayon budgets in accordance with stable long-term normatives is the first stage in the introduction of khozraschet relations. The capital cannot be transferred to khozraschet with a city budget deficit. Every year more than R15 billion enters the union budget from the territory of Moscow, only half of which is channeled to the city's needs. It is planned to organize Moscow's financial and budget relations with the USSR and the Russian Federation on the basis of stable long-term normatives for deductions into their budgets.

It is necessary to draw up a mechanism for the redistribution of funds between the city and the rayon with due regard for their socioeconomic characteristics. The rayispolkoms must have an interest in increasing incomes and making rational use of them.

Moscow's obligations as the capital must be built on a long-term contractual basis with funding from the union and republic budgets. We await from the USSR Finance Ministry clear-cut normatives for the formation of local budgets. This will enable us to enter the 13th 5-Year Plan with a fundamentally new organizational-economic mechanism of management and to rid ourselves of budget starvation.

The advancement of the economic reform, the broadening of the rayons' independence, and the introduction of the cooperative, lease, and other progressive forms of management require substantial modification of the master scheme for management of the city's economy. The newly created main administrations and committees of Moscow Gorispolkom have preserved the old methods of leadership and duplicate functions. The existence of many management components has been preserved and even increased in some places. Reorganization has proceeded formally, regardless of the opinion of enterprises' labor collectives—which has elicited a just protest from them.

Under modern conditions it is necessary to take a wider view of the master scheme. Account must be taken of the radical economic reform, the additions to the Law on the State Enterprise, the ministries' new functions, and the draft laws being prepared on questions of economic policy.

There are three stages to pass through in the process of realizing the economic reform. The first is the directive subordination of enterprises to sectorial and territorial organs of management, which is preserved today. The second is the departure from the direct subordination of associations and enterprises to main administrations and ministries and the building of contract relations while preserving the state order. The third is the removal of most enterprises from subordination, their functioning under competitive conditions, and the substantial reduction of ministries. At the same time management on the territory's part is exercised with the help of a regional tax policy.

We are now proceeding to the second stage. The year 1990 is marked by the creation of concerns, associations, and consortiums, their withdrawal from ministries, and the broad development of the cooperative and lease forms of management. All these processes must be taken into account when amending the master scheme of the city's management.

Much has been said today about the rayon management link and the need to enhance the rayons' economic independence. The role and independence of rayon soviets and their organs are still unjustifiably belittled. They have virtually no effective economic levers of managerial influence on the rayon economy.

The gorispolkom and rayispolkom apparatus does not have proper, real cooperation with the city's elected organs, deputies, or population. Relations between the city and the rayon, which must be built on a clear-cut delimitation of functions between them, require special attention. The Moscow Gorispolkom's decisions on extending the rayons' rights are half-measures which, moreover, do not get through to the main link but drown in administrations and main administrations. Everything that is divisible must be given up to the rayons, and the indivisible left to the city.

Moscow's special features as the country's largest political, economic, and cultural center, the diversified nature of the city's economy, and the fulfillment of its functions as the capital require the status of Moscow City Soviet and Gorispolkom to be enhanced. For interference in the life of the capital by central departments has led to its oversaturation with establishments, a shortage of worker cadres, and the frustration of decisions to remove ecologically harmful production facilities from Moscow.

A decision was adopted at the last city soviet session to draw up a law on the status of the USSR's capital—Moscow City. The preparation of this legislative act, which would assign to the Moscow City Soviet alone the right to independently choose the priorities and paths of the city's socioeconomic development, should be accelerated.

We cannot lag behind the other regions which are going over to regional khozraschet and economic independence in 1990. Under these conditions the law must ensure the necessary guarantees for realizing the "Progress-95" program and the population's social protection under conditions of self-management.

The impression is formed that the Moscow City Soviet is preparing the city and the rayons for the new management conditions sporadically and unsystematically. The clear-cut formulation of tasks, the necessary glasnost, and the broad involvement of the population and public organizations are lacking. There is still no organ to coordinate this activity. Certain rayons do not display proper initiative, are playing a waiting game, and have not reckoned up the essential need for finance to realize the new functions.

The capital must earn money in order to live—real money. It is necessary to expand consumer goods production and the services sphere. And the second aspect of this problem is the conversion of defense sectors. This is a very powerful industry in Moscow with tremendous potential. Defense enterprises are already reworking their own sections of the "Progress-95" program with due regard for conversion. Our duty is to ensure that all the capacities freed are reoriented to the needs of the city's economy.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom first secretary dwelt on current questions. He pointed out that 1990 will be the most crucial year in the current 5-year plan for the city's labor collectives. It is a year of decisive steps on the path of the economy's radical perestroyka, the introduction of territorial khozraschet, and the realization of intensive social programs and 5-year targets.

The successful fulfillment of the present plans must be the guarantee of stable work next year and in the 13th 5-Year Plan. Failure to fulfill them could have irreparable consequences. It is the chief task of party and soviet organizations, economic leaders, and enterprise and organization collectives to prevent this.

A particularly critical situation is taking shape with the fulfillment of plans for developing the city's social sphere and with the commissioning of apartment blocks and sociocultural and domestic projects. We have a right to complain to the leaders of Moscow Construction Committee and many construction organizations. Specific measures have been taken to improve the situation, but the situation remains very alarming. It is necessary to seek ways to jointly resolve questions, to step up political and organizational work in labor collectives, and to enhance the responsibility of Communist leaders for the assigned task.

Order should be instilled without delay—in the streets, in trade, in the law-enforcement sphere. CPSU raykoms are responsible for the political situation on their territory.

The local soviet elections and the preparations for them are approaching. Communists are obliged to take a more active stance and to involve Muscovites—USSR people's deputies—in specific work and in resolving specific tasks.

The preparations for work under winter conditions demand attention. These problems have been examined at the Moscow Gorispolkom. After the first cold spells we will see how the adopted decisions have been fulfilled and, where necessary, call the leaders to account.

Moscow CPSU Gorkom Buro adopted a detailed resolution pointing out that the party gorkom and its commissions have recently implemented a number of measures jointly with Moscow Gorispolkom and Moscow City Trade Union Council to carry out a regional policy aimed at advancing the economic reform, overcoming the sectoral and departmental nature, resolving problems of developing the city's social sphere, eliminating a consumer attitude toward territorial resources, and granting Moscow City Soviet and rayon soviets real rights and levers of economic influence on enterprises' economic activity.

Moscow CPSU Gorkom Buro resolved, in particular, to approve, in the main, the draft basic provisions for introducing khozraschet relations and developing self-management in Moscow and all its rayons, submitted by Moscow Gorispolkom in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

Moscow Gorispolkom is recommended, in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics, to finalize the draft basic provisions with due regard for the rayons' comments and proposals and those made in the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau and to publish them before 25 September 1989 for broad discussion by the city's working people and population.

It is also proposed to raise at the next Moscow City Soviet session the question of preparing the city for the introduction of khozraschet relations and developing self-management. It is expedient to examine there the draft basic provisions and the proposals for introducing in Moscow in 1990 the new procedure for forming the budgets of the city and its rayons and further enhancing the rayons' independence by transferring functions from city management organs.

Note was taken of the need to finalize the master scheme for management of the capital's economy with due regard for further extending the rayons' independence.

CPSU raykoms are instructed to carry out organizational and explanatory work on the introduction of khozraschet relations and self-management with due regard for the new procedure for forming the city and rayon budgets and realizing under these conditions the "Progress-95" territorial-sectoral program and the plan for Moscow's comprehensive economic and social development in 1990.

Moscow CPSU Gorkom Buro considers it one of the priority tasks of party organizations to prepare for the local soviet elections and to give candidate deputies practical assistance in drawing up specific programs aimed at resolving the socioeconomic problems of the city and the rayons under conditions of self-management.

The city's party organizations and soviet and economic organs must ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the 1989 plan targets and the creation of conditions for sharply increasing consumer goods production and resolving social problems.

Emphasis was placed on the need to accelerate the elaboration of the draft law "On the Status of the USSR's Capital—Moscow City," which ensures the broadening of the rights of Moscow City Soviet and the Gorispolkom in relations with the USSR, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and Moscow Oblast, the necessary material-financial and legal guarantees for the efficient operation of all sectors of the city's economic complex, and the population's social protection under conditions of self-management. It is necessary to submit proposals relating to the said draft law to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium before 1 November 1989.

It is deemed expedient to draw up a draft political platform of Moscow CPSU Gorkom in ideological activity, in the further development of internal party democracy, and in the perestroyka of the city's economy and social sphere.

Armenian Officials to Monitor Unloading of Cargo

NC2710085189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0545 GMT 27 oct 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers has decided to introduce an extraordinary situation in the railway stations of the republic between 26 October and (?10) November to accelerate the unloading of rail cars and the movement of freight. Armenian Interior Minister Usik Arutyunyan has been instructed to dispatch officials to Leninakan, Spitak and [place names indistinct] (to organize) the supervision of the freight. [passage indistinct] (?The paper) has published an ARMENPRES report on the extraordinary situation.

Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium Views NKAO

NC2710095689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] An expanded meeting of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium took place with the participation of the USSR people's deputies from Armenia, the chairmen of the standing committees of the republic's Supreme Soviet, and the Armenian Supreme Soviet deputies.

Grant Voskanyan, chairman of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet, briefed those present on the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session held to examine a report by the USSR Supreme Soviet parliamentary commission studying the problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

In their speeches, the members of the Armenian Presidium, the USSR people's deputies from Armenia and the Armenian Supreme Soviet deputies reiterated their principled position on the NKAO and pointed out that only the just solution of the problem on the basis of the Leninist principle of national self-determination could help eliminate the tension in the region and normalize the situation. They strongly condemned the continuing blockade of the NKAO, which is an unprecedented and impermissible action against the fraternity between our two peoples.

In view of the forthcoming discussion of the NKAO problem in the USSR Supreme Soviet, all speakers at the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium session supported the proposal to postpone the republic's Supreme Soviet session scheduled for 27 October.

Azerbaijan-Armenia Ethnic Tension Highlighted

LD2610122189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Video report by M. Mamedov and B. Zamchinskiy; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Lachin Rayon in Azerbaijan is spread out high in the mountains of Malyy Kavkaz. A little further, 2 kilometers away is the Gorisskiy Rayon of Armenia. Lately they have been mentioned increasingly frequently in the pages of the central press and in USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs reports. The reason is the exacerbation of interethnic relations in the region. [video shows a mountain village]

[N.M. Omarov, chief of staff of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Karaganda higher educational establishment] Our battalion arrived here more than 10 days ago. [video shows N.M. Omarov speaking to camera in the street] I must say that the situation in the rayon remains very complex. Literally in the last few days an explosion occurred on one of the highways. Purely by accident there were no casualties. Our young men have obtained, in a way, their combat christening here. One of our cadets suffered a slight body injury caused by firearms. He feels normal now.

[Zamchinskiy] [Camera cuts to show bullets, guns, presumably homemade explosives and explosive devices] These bullets, explosive devices, homemade pistols, and other arms were discovered in the course of an operation carried out against the extremists. The procuracy of Lachin Rayon has, in a short period of time, started 11 criminal proceedings.

[Camera shows Mamedov talking to a group of militiamen in a study] [Mamedov] Do you have any contacts with your colleagues from Gorisskiy Rayon?

[A.M. Aliyev, head of the rayon department of the militia] Yes, we have contacts. Lately we have been meeting more frequently to try to establish a suitable situation. However, things are not turning out the way we would like.

[D.I. Imanov, rayon procurator] Our (?people) are meeting each other, they are sharing bread, salt, sugar, and tea. This pleases us very much. But we believe that common sense will win in the end.

[Video shows a sign saying Lachin on the top of the mountain, a mountain road pass; on the left is a sentry box, opposite is a raised barrier. On the other side of the barrier, presumably on the Azeri side is a parked tank. Troops are patrolling the crossing; a car, a truck, a jeep are searched by the troops as they go through the pass] The only road in the mountains, which links these two rayons, is controlled by the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. It is precisely they who are ensuring order today. But soldiers will not bring peace. What is needed is goodwill between the two peoples—neighbors.

[Kh. A. Mamedov, first secretary of Lachin Rayon party committee, speaking to correspondent] We began a dialogue with the representatives of the Gorisskiy Rayon in Armenia. Now it is important to think together in a serious way about how we are to go on living from now on, about how we are to act so that people can live and work calmly in our hills.

[Zamchinskiy] Of course, it is not easy to pass over instantaneously from confrontation to full trust. But it is simply essential to break down the barrier of alienation. The inhabitants of these hills understand that clearly today. The contacts and meetings between neighbors which have been initiated are just the first swallow which, we hope, contrary to the well-known saying, will bring about a thaw in interethnic relations.

Further on Tensions

LD2610210989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Special correspondent Aleksandr Barkhatov video report from Stepanakert; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This bridge across the river Karkara was blown up on 7 October 1989. Fortunately, nobody was injured. A gas pipeline, the only gas pipe going to the town, was blown up along the bridge when the TNT charges were laid. The situation was most difficult. I repeat that it was really fortunate that nobody was injured, because there is a road post just 27 steps away which is guarded by cadets of the Higher Militia School of Belorussia.

The reaction to the news about this incident in the central and local press is an example of just how acutely every word of news is perceived here. It was expressed as follows: The blowing-up of the bridge broke off communications with the nearby Armenian villages. Immediately there was a flare-up of indignation from the Azerbaijanis. Indeed, the main road, along which columns proceeded habitually through Stepanakert to the Azerbaijani town of Shusha, had been knocked out. It is a sad fact that indeed both the sides which have been drawn into ethnic conflict suffer from such actions. [video shows damaged bridge and pipe, and surrounding hills]

Here is one more detail, which at first sight seems petty. Even the cigarettes, Baku ones or Yerevan ones, which a person smokes can lead today to a flare-up of emotions. Alas, all this is far from being a joke. The operational reports of the internal troops are alarming, just as previously. The night firing has not ceased. There are no fewer incidents of firing at army posts. Therefore, of course, one of the tasks is to avert the possible supply of weapons to the oblast. For the sake of the people's safety, extreme precautionary measures are being taken. Every piece of freight must pass a special inspection. Unfortunately, this task cannot generally be fulfilled for the meantime. [video shows street scenes, a helicopter's cargo being checked]

You have before you a not infrequent picture: A helicopter, bypassing Stepanakert Airport, is landing directly at a village. [video shows helicopter] In this case, this is the Azerbaijani settlement of (Khadzhali). We only managed to get into contact with an unknown crew. [video shows correspondent in control tower at airport speaking through microphone] Why, so to speak, is there no inspection of your cargo? [passage indistinct: radioed reply of helicopter crew]

[S.I. Tishkevich, commandant of Stepanakert airport] We work constantly in circumstances whereby a shot may ring out from just over there. There have been such instances. Bullets hit our fence. There were such cases. Yesterday two freight aircraft were stoned upon landing. We are working here in tense and difficult conditions, but the airport is fulfilling its functions. [video shows Tishkevich against background of airfield, with uniformed men and helicopters in background]

[Barkhatov] As a rule, observers sit on that hill over there, that is generally outsiders for you? [video shows people on hillside near airfield]

[Tishkevich] Yes, indeed yes. It is an Azerbaijani post. It has been working incessantly. We have been working here 42 days, and for 42 days we have also been watching them and their actions on that side through binoculars.

[Barkhatov] How are things there? Helicopters are also landing there? Are they doing it without inspection?

[Tishkevich] On some days I have counted up to 12 landings of Mi-8s, and each of them can carry 4 tonnes of freight: that means 48 tonnes of freight in 1 day may be transferred into that small village. It is obvious that that vilage does not need so much freight.

[Barkhatov] Have you tried to conduct an inspection?

[Tishkevich] No, we cannot inspect them, because the representatives of the authorities do not allow us in. That is, we are stopped and the road is closed.

[Barkhatov] Precisely who stops you?

[Tishkevich] Azerbaijani civilians.

[Barkhatov] In short, for the time being, one cannot talk about calm in the oblast or about hopeful forecasts.

Armenian Deputy Premier Visits Southern Armenia

NC2610121589 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1700 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Almost 1.5 km of the 12 km road linking Goris and Vorodan passes through Azerbaijan. Could not a new road be built to bypass this area and thus ensure stable communication between the two settlements? While it may be difficult to do this in a mountainous region, developments show the necessity of such a road.

A group of agroindustrial workers led by Vladimir Movsisyan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Council of Ministers, recently visited Goris to examine the socioeconomic development problems the region will face in coming years. Among the priority issues are the laying of new networks of pipes for drinking water and irrigation and natural gas pipelines, the expansion of state and private house construction, the creation of a refrigeration industry to protect vegetables, and other issues.

The proposals drawn up by Gorisskiy Party Rayon Committee and rayon soviet bodies, which have been presented to the government of the republic, envisage the solution of a number of social problems by 1990-92. The closure of the section of the Goris-Voradan road passing through the Azeri village of Eyvazlar and the construction of the new road in the territory of the republic is included on the list of priority items.

Railmen Ask Government To Release Freight Cars

PM2310160989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 Second Edition p 1

["Letter to PRAVDA" from a group of USSR Ministry of Railways employees]

[Text] We Communists working in the Ministry of Railways central apparatus request you, esteemed Comrades, to publish our appeal to union republic Councils of Ministers and local soviet organs prompted by the situation in railroad stations regarding the shipment of consumer goods and other products. An acute shortage of industrial goods and foodstuffs is currently being experienced everywhere, causing justified popular indignation and building social tension in the country.

At the same time, it is a perplexing fact that railroad station warehouses are filled to the brim with these goods and other freight. Thousands of railroad cars, which are in short supply, have become warehouses on wheels. For example, **more than 1 million tonnes of freight and 185,000 containers are awaiting shipment** at railroad station warehouses and container depots. Freight such as sugar, cocoa beans, canned food, footwear, knitwear, detergents, tableware, furniture, and many other consumer goods has not been shipped for a long time. An especially large quantity of freight has accumulated at the Moscow railroad junction.

As of 19 October, there were 25,200 tonnes of freight plus 18,700 containers awaiting shipment. There are 1,392 idle container cars waiting for the freight backlog to be cleared. A similar situation prevails at the Leningrad junction. Over 9,000 tonnes of freight and 6,500 containers are held at warehouses and container depots. More than 350,000 tonnes of freight and 27,000 containers have piled up at railroad stations serving the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Freight shipment is especially bad at Kiev and Kharkov Junctions. A similar situation prevails in Georgia, the Baltic republics, Krasnoyarsk Kray, and Irkutsk, Sverdlovsk, Gorkiy, Rostov, Chelyabinsk, and other oblasts.

Appeals by railroad workers to local soviet organs produce no results. Therefore, through PRAVDA, we are appealing to the union republic Councils of Ministers and soviet executive committees to suggest they put in order the delivery of consumer goods and other products to the population and promptly release railcars and containers which are in severely short supply. Officials guilty of delaying freight shipment from railroad stations should be held subject to disciplinary, material, and criminal liability according to established procedures as set by USSR legislation.
[Signed] V. Mazurov, chief of the Container and Package Freight and Transportation and Shipping Services Department; I. Batsatsenko, deputy chief of department; I. Pikayev, chief specialist; Yu. Vasilyev, senior engineer; V. Radayev, senior engineer.

15 Sep Dushanbe Airport Bomb Hoax Reported

LD2610215389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 26 October, in its "Vremya" newscast, carries 3-minute report on a bomb hoax telephoned to Dushanbe Airport on 15 September in which an unidentified caller stated there was a bomb on board an aircraft.

Correspondent M. Nikulin relates the consequences of the hoaxer's call.

Passengers in a Tu-154, on Flight No 630 to Moscow from Dushanbe, were in the air, says the correspndent. The video shows a plane taking off, before showing airport official answering telephone. Then an anonymous phone call, 90 minutes after take-off, said that the plane had a bomb on board. The plane was at an altitutde of 11,000 meters and was 130 kms from Aktyubinsk. Emergency services and hundreds of people were called out to arrange the landing of the plane at Aktyubinsk and the evacuation of the passengers, says the correspondent. The video shows a Tupolev jet landing, and airport scenes. The plane spent 11 hours at Aktyubinsk, but a thorough search revealed no bomb. The 172 passengers and the crew were put to great inconvenience, and their relatives waiting for them in Moscow were very concerned. Many of the passengers are still getting over the trauma, says the correspondent.

S.M. Mongolov, identified in a screen caption as deputy chief of the Tajik Civil Aviation Adminstration, tells the correspondent on the airport tarmac that: "The number of anonymous calls regarding the alleged placing of explosive devices on board aircraft has increased recently. This year alone, the Tajik Civil Aviation Administation has noted four anonymous phone calls. Thanks to the vigilance of our staff, their urgent measures, and our most modern systems, all the anonymous callers were identified."

Nikulin goes on to say: "Yes, the perpetrator of this anonymous call was quickly identified. He turned out to be an 18-year-old worker in a Dushanbe cooperative—(Abu Kandov). His clumsy, hooligan-like joke brought him to the dock. And here is the just result." The video shows a youth in a courtroom. The judge, flanked by the two people's assessors, announces the sentence of the court: "In the name of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, the Frunze Rayon People's court of the city of Dushanbe has reached the following verdict: It finds (Abu Mikhaylovich Kandov) guilty under Article 220, Part 2, of the Criminal Code of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, sentences him under that Article to 2 years deprivation of liberty to be spent in a top-security corrective labor colony, and orders that (Kandov) pay the Tajik Civil Aviation Adminstration R18,160." The video shows the offender clasping his head in dismay after the verdict.

Nikulin concludes: "What has happened should serve a lesson for those who ignore society's standards of morality."

Nazarbayev on Kazakh Self-Management

PM1910132189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 18 Oct 89 First Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS-attributed interview with N. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, by V. Akimov, especially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "Postulate of Brotherhood"]

[Text] [Akimov] A heightened interest in the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] is currently noticeable everywhere. Many people ask themselves: What is the secret of the Kazakhs' steadily growing political and labor activeness, of their steadily increasing specific contribution to perestroyka? How is it that, in contrast with some other republics, they have succeeded in preventing splits and division of the population along nationality lines?

[Nazarbayev] There is no secret: It is simply a matter of an atmosphere of calm and intense work prevailing everywhere in our republic. People are striving to obtain the best possible returns from the opportunities offered by perestroyka.

This was preceded by a resolute and uncompromising dissociation from the flawed legacy of the past in many spheres of social life. Immediately following the ill-famed December 1986 Alma-Ata events, which were provoked by elements with nationalist leanings, the republic's leadership and local organs of power managed to regain the initiative. Consequently, irresponsible persons have not succeeded in taking advantage of the people's dissatisfaction with the problems in nationalities policy, in sacrificing the noble ideas of revolutionary socialist renewal on the altar of personal ambitions.

In my view, the existing interethnic tension is primarily and directly associated with problems of a socioeconomic nature—the acute shortage of housing, food, and consumer goods, the violations of social justice. The prolonged disregard of the indigenous population's spiritual needs has also had its effect.

Having arrived at a diagnosis, we immediately embarked on a radical treatment of concealed "seats of infection." We deem it very important to completely rule out any manifestations of strong-arm pressure or imposition of the will of a section of the population of one nationality on representatives of another nationality, and we bear in mind that even a carelessly uttered word can irreparably damage interethnic relations.

[Akimov] So, what are the results of the creative activity now under way in Kazakhstan?

[Nazarbayev] Progress in our republic is most clearly visible in the solution of the housing problem, which was only getting worse until quite recently.

Suffice it to say that, since the beginning of the 5-year plan period, the republic's target for the commissioning of apartments has been met 106.9 percent, representing 1,473,000 square meters in excess of plan. I think that we will be able to fulfill the 5-year plan as early as the first quarter of 1990. We are, therefore, perfectly justified in asserting that the "Housing-91" Program, which was adopted by Kazakhstan as a result of nationwide discussion, will be successfully implemented, even though not everyone believed in it initially. This means that virtually all who were waiting to be housed as of 1 January 1987 will have been supplied with apartments in just 5 years.

Even though the situation is not identical everywhere, markets and store shelves have, on the whole, become noticeably richer.

Great importance also attaches to the fact that we have finally succeeded in properly tackling the elimination of imbalances in Kazakhstan's socioeconomic development. In this process, we are giving special attention to the hinterland, the remote rayons inhabited mainly by indigenous population. Specifically, we are now providing emergency assistance to 30 of them, where the situation is downright lamentable in terms of housing, people's employment, and medical and consumer services.

Much is also being done to improve the standards of interethnic relations and to cast off the flawed legacy of yesterday.

[Akimov] Kazakhstan is a multinational republic, whose vast territory is inhabited by a sizeable quantity of representatives of other nationalities in addition to the indigenous population. The state of interethnic relations, the political climate, the entire course of further revolutionary renewal, and the future of Kazakhs themselves will depend on the extent to which the Kazakh SSR will manage to successfully resolve the linguistic problem. What new approaches and solutions are taking shape in this sphere of social life?

[Nazarbayev] I do not think I would be wrong in saying that they are radical, thoroughly considered, and fair: Ways have been found to create appropriate conditions for enhancing the role and significance of the language spoken by the people whose name the republic bears without infringing the Russian language. At the same time, necessary prerequisites have been built in for the development of the Uygur, German, Korean, and all other languages in places densely populated by these sectors of Kazakhstan's population. By virtue of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet session's decision of 22 September this year, the Kazakh language was recognized as state language, and the Russian language as the language of interethnic contacts.

We consider the following postulate immutable: The study of both languages is a strictly voluntary matter. I am convinced that here in Kazakhstan, with the passage of time, it will become a kind of measuring stick for the internationalism of Kazakhstan's population and the degree of the development of every person's general culture. And this will truly guarantee that the Kazakh SSR will maintain its decisive and uncompromising stance against the advocates of housing the Soviet peoples in their national homes.

[Akimov] The changes for the better are indisputable. And let us be frank: Many of them are associated with your activity as chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers and member of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. I would therefore like to formulate my next question as follows: What goes to make up the material base of the incipient radical renewal in the republic? It is, after all, clear that enthusiasm and good will alone are insufficient for consistent advancement.

[Nazarbayev] Absolutely correct. But I would not associate all this with the activity of any specific persons. The entire secret lies in reevaluating the criteria for achieving possible success. Whereas enthusiasm was earlier, and more often than not, identified as the key to rising prosperity, followed by the "breakthrough" potential of extraordinary personalities, the imagination has now been captured by a new concept—radical economic reform.

There is no question that, at the crucial stage, it was important for the republican party organization to realize and understand that perestroyka's ultimate success would depend on whether Communist leaders would manage to engage in an honest and open dialogue with working people and convince them of the need to consolidate all forces in order to overcome the burdensome legacy of the stagnation years. Only thus will it be possible to rely on the mightiest force—the creative and constructive energy of the masses. And we have succeeded in this to a certain extent along the main avenues, the highway of socioeconomic renewal.

Singling out the housing problem as the most topical one in the tight knot of social problems enabled us to embark on a thoroughly well-argued, blunt, and honest dialogue with the working people. Some labor collectives banked on erecting buildings using the own-resources method, others quite liked the idea of creating cooperatives, yet others started encouraging individual housing construction by offering credits on preferential terms or one-shot nonrepayable monetary subsidies in the countryside. And things got moving... Whereas 6.6 million square meters of housing were handed over in 1985, this year we expect the figure to reach 8.5 million. This would mean a 29-percent growth. At this point, it is impossible not to mention the vast work done at local level, primarily by party organs. It was they who mobilized people and local resources.

[Akimov] These were evidently the first shoots of autonomy, of the desire for self-management?

[Nazarbayev] Yes, indeed, people are increasingly often beginning to display a spirit of socialist enterprise. Here are just a few facts, which have already been given press coverage in the past: Difficulties developed in Kokchetav Oblast as regards drying oil. A trivial matter, one might say, but finishing work cannot be done without it. People in Kokchetav Oblast had no intention of waiting "for something to happen": They organized their own production, expanding the area sown to sunflower for this purpose. People in Tselinograd Oblast remembered that flax had been planted there since time immemorial, and that flax also produces excellent drying oil. Taldy-Kurgan Oblast's "40 Let Oktyabrya" Collective Farm managed to set up its own housing construction combine with an annual capacity of 300 cottages, and is making its own tiles, ceramic floor coverings, and nails. Examples of concern for working people in housing construction and in solving other social development problems have been set by the Karaganda metallurgical combine, by many of Ust-Kamenogorsk's enterprises...

The remaining problems, and the food supplies problem in particular, are being solved equally imaginatively. All restrictions on the quantity of personal livestock have been lifted, farms have been allowed to allocate fertile land to feed crop cultivation, and industrial enterprises have been given permission to exchange output produced in excess of state orders for food and consumer goods. A valuable initiative originated with the Karaganda metallurgical combine and the "Karagandaugol" Association: Equipment they have purchased abroad with their own funds will make it possible to substantially boost the manufacture of sewn goods in the oblast and improve their quality, and to organize the processing of sheepskins into coats. The labor collectives of metallurgists and coal miners will not lose anything thereby. Their capital will be repaid with interest, and they will both enjoy preferential rights in purchasing the new products which are still in short supply in Kazakhstan.

One might say: There you have it—the first shoots of new economic thinking, new economic relations, positive developments in people's mentality. What else do you need—give them proper support, let them strengthen and develop, and perestroyka will develop in greater depth, faster. But no. The republic is short of both material and financial resources for this purpose. Subsidies from union funds amounted to R2.73 billion this year alone. And how can you manage without them, seeing that 93 percent of our enterprises are under union jurisdiction and only 7 percent under local jurisdiction.

It is these famous 7 percent that basically shape the Kazakh SSR's budget. Relations with union republics, which are far from equal, leave much to be desired. Kazakhstan is mainly the base for industry's extracting sectors, and prices for raw and semiprocessed materials, including agricultural produce, are the same as they were 30 years ago. And yet prices for finished products have increased severalfold, and are still rising to this day.

There are more than enough examples. Look no further than this fact: One kilogram of high-quality Kazakh wool is priced at about R15, which is far less than its cost. On the other hand, suits made from this wool elsewhere in the country are priced much higher, and we are forced to buy them at that price.

In my view, there is only one way out: Union republics must be transferred to economic accountability as soon as possible, and all economic, political, and ideological fetters must be taken off the perestroyka which is ardently supported by the people.

[Akimov] There are several models of regional economic accountability: Belorussian, Estonian, Ukrainian... You have come up with the initiative of elaborating your own, Kazakh concept of self-management and self-financing. What are the principal differences between it and the others, and when will its implementation begin?

[Nazarbayev] So far, the republic is talking only about self-management and self-financing. Unless fair and scientifically substantiated prices for raw materials and finished products are elaborated, Kazakhstan—as I just proved by specific facts—will lack proper conditions for a real transfer to regional economic accountability. The draft, which was under elaboration for over 2 years, was recently submitted for nationwide discussion. Our model will come to life only after a demanding and principled analysis of all the arguments "for" and "against" literally every single provision.

The most important and fundamental principle of our concept is the fact that it examines the questions of Kazakhstan's economic autonomy exclusively within the framework of the USSR's unified national economic complex. In other words, we need autonomy only for the purpose of enhancing the efficiency of social production, sharply boosting the growth of the people's prosperity, and fully harmonizing interethnic relations in the interests of the Kazakh SSR, all other union republics, and the whole country.

The second fundamental aspect involves the further expansion of enterprises' economic rights, releasing them from selfish tutelage by ministries and departments, and concentrating efforts by the latter on strategic issues and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

Here is an especially important point: At the first stage, mineral wealth, land, and water resources become the property not only of the whole country but also of the republic. Charges for the right to utilize all these assets, together with deductions from profits earned through the sale of output as a result of their economic assimilation, should provide the basis of the Kazakh SSR's budget. Moreover, enterprises under union jurisdiction should operate only under mutually advantageous contracts with the local soviets on whose territory they are located, while new ones will be built exclusively subject to their permission. Autonomy should also be granted in foreign economic activity.

I believe that decentralization should under no circumstances be taken beyond the bounds of what is objectively sensible. I think that the leadership of enterprises of especially great importance for the entire country, questions of coordinating foreign economic ties and the supremacy of legislative power—all this should be left to the center on the basis of a new treaty between the Union and the republics. Hence the conclusion that all laws must, in principle, be common for the entire country, while republican laws should be elaborated and adopted only on the basis of the former as applied to specific local conditions.

We have reached overall agreement as regards schedules. Initially we intended to switch to work in the new conditions from the start of the 13th 5-Year Plan period. But life itself and the headlong development of social processes, especially in the wake of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies, have forced us to amend our plans. We no longer have any doubts that a large-scale trial of the new methods of economic management ought to begin next year. This will make it possible to lay appropriate foundations for the next stage of development.

[Akimov] What position is assigned to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in the Kazakh concept of self-management and self-financing?

[Nazarbayev] While striving to further strengthen economic, cultural, and all other ties with Russia, we resolutely rebuff any attacks against the Russian nation, regardless of the pretext under which they are undertaken. After all, their true objective is obvious: Initially to weaken fraternal ties in the country and then to achieve a collapse of our entire union.

Of course, someone might think: Does this not smack of toadying to the "older brother," which was the accepted thing until quite recently? No, matters go much deeper. We are approaching the end of the third century since Kazakhstan joined Russia. A lot has happened along this long path, good and bad alike: Czarist oppression and arbitrary rule, the building of the Turkmenistan-Siberia Railroad, the establishment of new life in the vast feather-grass steppes, Stalin's repressions, the famine, and the opening up of the Virgin Lands. Let's be objective: The boosting of the economy, the establishment of heavy industry and its assimilation, the development of culture, and the building of bright cities—none of this would have been possible without Russia's fraternal assistance. The friendship between Kazakhs and Russians is rendered all the more precious by the fact that this friendship, together with our country, underwent all imaginable and unimaginable trials.

But today, in this complex time, it is not enough to just boast friendship, it must be reciprocally strengthened. Actually, I made a slip here. It would be more accurate to put it thus: Friendship in our fatherland must be strengthened by all of us together. One hundred peoples in one motherland.

Uzbekistan's Karimov CPSU Plenum Speech

PM0310155189 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 23 Sep 89 pp 1-2

[Unattributed account of "Speech by I.A. Karimov, First Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum on 20 September 1989"]

[Text] Comrades! The profound and comprehensive discussion of the draft party platform on the nationalities question, and the summing up of this discussion in our republic attest to the people's support for the CPSU Central Committee's chosen course of improving interethnic relations and building the Soviet federation under new conditions.

M.S. Gorbachev's substantive and constructive report at the plenum once again underlines the insistent need to critically analyze the path we have traveled in forming interethnic relations in our country, in asserting and creatively developing the Leninist norms and principles in nationalities policy, and in purging them of artificial accretions and deformations.

Obviously, at the plenum today is not the most suitable moment to speak about significant dates and especially about jubilees. But I cannot help but do this. I am talking about a question that has a direct bearing on the problem we are discussing today. I am referring to the impending 70th anniversary of Tashkent State University. Let us recall the dread year 1920 when Russia, cold, hungry, and rent by civil war, extended the hand of generous aid to the peoples of Turkestan. It was in that far-off year that V.I. Lenin signed the decree on the formation of the Central Asian University. It was then that the famous scientific train set off for Tashkent carrying prominent scientists and teachers from Moscow, Petrograd, and other cities in Russia.

This cannot be forgotten, comrades. This fraternal aid will never be erased from the grateful memory of the Uzbek people and the peoples of Central Asia. That is why we are preparing so vigorously for this important event in order to emphasize once again that the questions raised by life itself and the perestroyka of our relations can only be successfully resolved within the single united family of the Soviet peoples. We simply do not have any other option!

When speaking about this, it is hard, indeed impossible, to understand some mass media articles regarding recent events in Uzbekistan, in particular in Fergana Oblast. It is inadmissible when individual hotheads with no knowledge of our specific conditions, age-old history, culture, traditions, morals, customs, or of the difficult key problems that caused these events, categorically pin labels on an entire people, paint them black, and consider themselves to be supreme judges.

Particularly great indignation and protest are caused by the gross political insinuations contained in the article "Eclipse" published in the journal OGONEK, one of these sweeping biased articles which aggravate the already explosive social tension in the republic, spread rumors, and sow the seeds of mistrust among people of different nationalities (and we have more than 100 nations and ethnic group living in our republic). In his response to criticism yesterday, PRAVDA Chief Editor Comrade Afanasyev asked us not to generalize but to identify the specific carriers of unobjective information. There you have it—this is neither the first time nor the first year that writers from the journal OGONEK have engaged in such unseemly work. Today it is appropriate to ask: When will they finally be taken to task for their deeds? Such articles only fuel the flames. They do not ease but, on the contrary, complicate the solution of the acute pressing problems which have built up in Uzbekistan in large numbers.

We by no means intend to oversimplify the actual reasons behind the tragic events that occurred in Fergana, or the events themselves. Moreover, we condemn such attempts and consider them politically harmful.

The events in Fergana Oblast illustrate above all our underestimation of the danger of the deterioration of the tense sociopolitical situation and the attempts on the part of corrupt antiperestroyka and nationalist elements to exploit the exceptionally complex socioeconomic and moral-psychological situation in the republic to kindle interethnic dissension and exploit the population's religious feelings to whip up and destabilize the situation.

Today we are learning harsh and bitter lessons in political realism, lessons in truth, from the Fergana events. Yes, it was possible and necessary not to allow, it was incumbent upon us to prevent the mass disturbances, excesses, cruelty, and loss of human life. Yes, we are responsible for the fact that tens of thousands of people have been forced to abandon the places of their permanent residence.

This development of events demonstrated primarily the political incompetence of many party and soviet cadres, their inability to foresee and anticipate extraordinary situations and to handle events. These events also demonstrated the helplessness of the law-enforcement organs, their inaction, and at times even their direct connivance with extremists.

The Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee has made a harsh assessment of the tragic events in Fergana Oblast. Party and criminal proceedings have been and are being instituted against the culprits. The firm conviction has taken shape in the republic that the culprits, whoever they may be and whatever nation they may belong to, must and will be severely punished to ensure that no one ever takes it into their head again to cast a slur on the good name of the Uzbek people, who are distinguished by their true internationalism, benevolence, spiritual goodness, and hospitality. The Uzbek people were, are, and will always be the true friends and brothers of all Soviet peoples.

Comrades! We realize that ethnic relations do not exist in their pure and refined form. They are determined by the entire totality of economic, social, legal, spiritual-moral, demographic, and ecological problems. Hence it is very important to look ahead and take prompt measures to prevent any disruption of the equilibrium, any destabilization, any laggardness in the development of factors which directly influence the sociopolitical situation in the region.

What are the unsolved problems which are worrying us and destabilizing the situation in Uzbekistan? They are, primarily:

1. The question of employment for the population. Today the republic has approximately 1 million mobile manpower resources not employed in the social production sphere. This situation is being aggravated by the population growth rate, which is approximately three times the average union growth rate. The lack of employment for people, especially in the countryside, results in low social labor productivity and correspondingly low incomes for the population, in sharp laggardness in terms of per capita national income indicators with all the ensuing consequences. Over 45 percent of the population in Uzbekistan today have per capita incomes under R75, which is below the subsistence wage.

2. This growth is not backed up by a corresponding increase in vital services: housing, educational, public health, cultural, trade: consumer, and municipal facilities, and other services. Furthermore, the gap separating us from average union indicators is not closing, it is actually widening. The environment and the soil are

being exhausted, there is a shortage of drinking water, child mortality and the general incidence of disease among the population are high.

3. The situation is complicated by the one-sided and hypertrophied development of the national economy, where non-labor-intensive production units and primary processing sectors primarily prevail.

The agricultural structure needs to be substantially revised in connection with the increasingly limited water resources. Today in the Fergana Valley there is no more than 0.2 hectares of land per capita and this indicator is dropping every year due to industrial and housing construction.

4. The miscalculations and voluntarism permitted in developing and siting productive forces have created an exceptionally tense ecological situation. This is illustrated by the catastrophic situation that is taking shape around the Aral.

If you add to this list of problems the serious mistakes, the distortions, and the administrative-edict, willful, and—I would say—crude approach permitted in the so-called "cotton scams" [khlopkovyye delakh] and also in assessing the historical and cultural values, customs, and traditions of the people, then the soil on which the social and interethnic tension is growing in the republic today also become understandable.

We understand and realize that the resolution of all these difficult problems depends primarily on us ourselves, on how we organize the work of utilizing available opportunities and resources. However, we cannot do without the elaboration of a comprehensive program encompassing our entire Central Asian region.

In this context I would like to note that, when the CPSU Central Committee was in the process of adopting its resolution on halting the work to partially reverse the flow of the northern and Siberian rivers, union and republic organs were instructed to draw up a comprehensive program for the development of productive forces in Central Asia and Kazakhstan through the year 2010, taking into account the prevailing demographic and water resources situation, and for the improvement of the structure of agroindustrial production and other national economic sectors. Unfortunately, this program has not appeared to this day.

With the help of the CPSU Central Committee and the country's government, the republic is conducting an insistent quest for ways to reduce economic and social tension by more fully utilizing existing potential. As an immediate measure designed to produce a rapid return, we recently decided to develop personal subsidiary plots and individual housing construction. We are thus trying to resolve several tasks at once: We are improving the population's food supply, incorporating an important reserve into the acceleration of housing construction, increasing employment for the population, and improving their social security. This has a favorable influence on the stabilization of the political situation in the republic.

We are currently working hard to strengthen and develop the basis for the storage and processing of agricultural produce, above all fruit and vegetables. We should no longer tolerate the fact that up to 30 percent of vitamin output, which our entire country and republic need so acutely, is lost owing to mismanagement. A major impact would be produced here by direct ties, based on mutual advantage, between our farms and major enterprises in various parts of the country.

Our republic's working people greeted with great satisfaction the decision adopted the other day on the stabilization of cotton fiber production at 1.5 million tonnes and the introduction of extra charges [nadbavki] in cotton growing.

A few words about extra charges for cotton. The document on this question, which was submitted by the country's government, has been approved in principle by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. Our population knows this, it was mentioned at the recent conference in Frunze. But the promulgation of this resolution is being held back. We ask you, Mikhail Sergeyevich, to help finalize this matter since its solution is now acquiring not only an economic but also a major political importance, especially since it affects the interests of all cotton-growing republics.

The improvement in the sociopolitical situation is directly linked with the urgent and just resolution of the demands made by the Crimean Tartars, Meskhetian Turks, and Kurds deported to Uzbekistan in the past. We wholly support the idea expressed in the report about the need for the speediest resolution of this historic injustice.

Our links with the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan have considerably strengthened recently. Today it can be said unambiguously that there are no insoluble problems between our fraternal peoples. We will continue to do everything necessary to ensure that sundry reciprocal claims made in the past and associated mainly with manifestations of ambition and whim, primarily by the bosses, no longer overshadow these links.

It was quite correctly remarked yesterday that we should not be complaining about each other but cooperating. If we have been born as neighbors on this land, we should obviously be as tolerant as possible, understand each other the way that we are, find a common language, and build our future.

Comrades! We see no point in seeking alternatives to our state's federal makeup. Yes, we advocate the clear demarcation of the functions, powers, and mutual obligations of the union and the republics and, as the draft platform said, the strengthening of the republics' sovereignty and the basing of our relationships on full economic accountability. We advocate giving new content to the concept of the Soviet federation and returning to a genuinely Leninist concept of federation which permits neither a unitary state [unitarnost] nor the distortion of democratic centralism into the absolute diktat of a bureaucratic system.

At the same time, we find totally unacceptable the proposals made by certain republics to base our relationships on the principles of confederation. This will inevitably lead to an increase in parochialism and the development of centrifugal forces and sentiments, and will ultimately result in the collapse of our state.

The draft platform's raising of the question of strengthening the existing structure of the republic communist parties' autonomy and granting these parties the right to resolve organizational, structural, cadre, and financial issues as they see fit and to adopt their own political documents within the bounds of the CPSU Program is timely and highly topical. This will no doubt help to boost their role and prestige.

At the same time, we cannot agree with the proposals and suggestions about granting union republic communist parties the right to adopt a program and statutes independently. The CPSU has always been strengthened by the unity of its ranks, goals, and tasks. It is our profound belief that only a party which is ideologically and organizationally united, with a common Program and Statutes, a party with firm discipline and organization, can be the basis and guarantor of the consolidation and cohesion of all healthy and progressive forces in our society.

We also believe that the firm directives heard yesterday in the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, on the need to resolutely rebuff and ultimately apply the force of law where necessary—to ultraradicals, extremists, chauvinists, nationalists, and anyone who strives to introduce disorder and discord, to undermine the people's confidence in the party, and to dislodge us from the course of perestroyka—to be very correct. I am convinced that all healthy forces will support this principled stand without fail.

One more point. In our view, it was correctly decided yesterday to bring the date for holding the 28th party congress forward to October 1990, which means that the report-and-election campaign in primary party organizations will actually begin in April-May next year. In this context it would seem to be advisable not to hold report-back sessions by rayon, city, and oblast committee and republic central committees this year, as provided by a previously adopted CPSU Central Committee resolution. It would make more sense to combine these report-back sessions with the forthcoming preparations for the 28th party congress. Now we should get down to direct preparations for the elections to local soviets and republic supreme soviets.

Further on Mezhdurechensk 'Warning Strike'

LD2610224889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Excerts] Now news from the country's coal basins. As we have already reported, the collectives of the Mezhdurechensk coal industry enterprises have carried out a short warning strike. Our correspondent in the kuzbass, Vladimir Yuryev, presents a report from that town.

[Yuryev] To a certain extent, the strike may be called symbolic. At certain enterprises the strike lasted less than 2 hours. The strikers demanded genuine independence, which is not possible without sorting out the prices for coal, reorganizing the administration of the coal industry, and creating laws on providing pensions, ordering regional coefficients, and lengthening holidays. But the main reason for the latest anger of the workers, in my opinion, is once again the astounding inattention shown them.

Ten days before the strike, a telegram was sent to Moscow which did not even talk about the fulfilment of demands but just of the necessity to take measures to fulfil them. No reply was received from Mikhail Invanovich Shchadov, USSR minister of the coal industry. After several days the town workers' committee again sent several telegrams and only after several reminders and telephone calls, received an answer, literally on the eve of the strike.

Everyone I talked to in Mezhdurechensk feels that the strike is not a method, even more so since the decision on these issues can only be taken by the country's Supreme Soviet after thorough discussion. Vladimir Matveyevich Gvozdev also discussed this with people. He has only just returned from Moscow, where he worked in one of the commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Debate in Moldavian People's Front Described

90UN0152A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Oct 89 p 3

[S. Gamova report: "What Is Behind the Slogans? Notes From a Meeting of the People's Front"]

[Text] The People's Front is a public movement that represents the real political strength in the republic. Today no one denies this. Based on a program of national renewal and consistently defending the interests of the Moldavian people in resolving the language problem, the movement has gained broad popularity. This cannot be ignored.

With the removal of the language conflict in the republic, having slightly restructured itself, the People's Front continues to play an active role in the public life of the republic.

At a regular meeting held by the movement last Sunday in the Zelenyy Theater the main subject of discussion was the republic draft law on elections of Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] deputies. Essentially the meeting was one of the events opening the campaign developed by the movement on the eve of the elections.

So what are we talking about?

First of all, what the upcoming elections should be. In the opinion of many of those who spoke they should be direct and secret. Small collectives numbering up to 20 people should have the right to nominate their own candidate. An appeal was heard for the nomination of honest people as candidates regardless of their national affiliation. Many demanded an end to the nomination of candidates by the public organizations, regarding this as an attempt by the party apparatus to advance its own people. There was another opinion that was stressed: Laws and amendments to laws should be adopted not by a two-thirds majority but a simple majority (more than 50 percent of the votes).

The subject of election qualifications, well known in the Baltic, was raised: The right to be elected should be given only to a candidate who has lived in the republic for at least 10 years.

This package of proposals, which is not as simple as it appears at first glance, included the conclusion that the draft law submitted for debate pursues the aim of preserving the power of the bureaucrats and the "Moscow proteges."

The subject of the "center" was developed in the following speeches:

A. Shalaru noted that the chain is Center—Communist Party—the present situation. It has the ring of 1940 again. No one asked the Moldavians then whether or not they wanted to be reunited with the USSR. He added this: In those years the Moldavian Communist Party came to power in the republic not through elections, but on the bayonets of the Soviet Army. Then followed this kind of statement: The economic policy pursued by the republic party organization has promoted the degradation of the working class and has been aimed at strengthening the positions of the center. Hence the conclusion that the system should be a multiparty system and the republic should be given its sovereignty along the lines of Azerbaijan, while power should be transferred to the council of the People's Front.

As they say, things reached the point at which it was also necessary to raise the question of power.

These appeals probably will find a response in some part of the population. But then it will also be necessary to define the following: What is it that we are building under the slogans, and what is the social structure that is being protected?

No matter what, the People's Front meeting gives grounds for concluding that the movement is by no means counseling for reforms within the existing system. Its goal is rather to change the political structure of society. At least, this can be seen clearly behind the slogans that rang out at the meeting and that could not be hidden behind demagogic references to perestroyka. What is it that we are about to restructure?

There is another factor that cannot be avoided. While raising the question of the rebirth of national dignity and linguistic standards, and being oriented on fairness with respect to national minorities, the members of the People's Front forget about this totally when it is a question of the Gagauz and their demand—the creation of autonomy. No, the speakers said, the demands for autonomy by the Gagauz constitute a provocation and an attempt to dismember the unified territory of the republic. Then they make territorial claims against their neighbors in the Ukraine. What is this, an absence of logic?

There is one final stroke to be added to the portrait of the People's Front. Those speaking at the meeting expressed themselves against decreeing that the Russian language be the official language on the territory of the USSR. What is this, some mistake, a misunderstanding, a simple lack of respect? I think not. It is a position, a policy that pursues far-reaching aims.

Baltics Note Problems in Switch to Self-Financing

LD2610210889 Moscow International Service in Finnish 1530 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] The premiers of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia have stated in a joint communique that preparations for the three republics' transfer to self-financing are laborious and difficult. The difficulties are partially due to the newness of the idea of self-financing for the republics, and partially due to the incompleteness of measures for economic reform taking place in the Soviet Union. In this connection the Baltic republics regard it as wisest to draw up general principles and mechanisms for an agreement on economic cooperation with other Soviet republics.

Latvian Front Call for Boycott of Draft Assailed

PM2510154989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Oct 89 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed KRASNAYA ZVEZDA parliamentary correspondents' interview with USSR People's Deputy Lieutenant Colonel V.I. Alksnis under the rubric "Interview Between Sittings": "What Does the Future Hold?"—date and place unspecified; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] On 20 October, addressing the constituent sitting of the Armed Forces deputies' group, Lieutenant Colonel V.I. Alksnis from Riga talked about the difficult situation which has taken shape in Latvia in connection with the fall draft. Having published a brief information report on this speech, we received several telephone calls in response, with people asking: What is the cause of the present situation?

Our parliamentary correspondents turned to Viktor Imantovich for explanations.

"An appeal to the republic's draftees appeared 16 October in the Latvian People's Front publication ATMODA," Viktor Imantovich said. "The essence of the appeal was this: In 1940 Soviet troops invaded the territory of independent Latvia and have occupied it ever since, which means that service in the 'occupation army' is incompatible with the status of citizen of the Latvian republic. There was also a specific appeal from the Riga branch of the 'Fatherland and Freedom' Organization—the author of the main appeal—namely, to boycott the fall draft. Typically, the appeal was not published in the Russian-language edition of ATMODA. Therefore once again a discussion is being conducted behind the back of the nonindigenous population.

"I consider this to be a purposeful action directed toward conflict with the authorities."

[Correspondents] You went to Riga on your free days. Is there any fresh news?

[Alksnis] There is. On 21 October the youth newspaper PADOMJU JAUNATNE published a series of Latvian People's Front documents which build on the boycott announcement, so to speak. On 17 October the board of the People's Front Duma adopted an open letter to the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium. It formulated the question as follows: If there is a refusal (and I quote) "to be drafted for compulsory military service in the USSR Armed Forces on religious, pacifist, or political grounds," the Presidium must decree a halt in the fall draft program and the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet session due to start 10 November will have to adopt a draft law on alternative service.

[Correspondents] But they also give another reason: nonregulation relations....

[Alksnis] That is only a pretext. The second Latvian People's Front Congress adopted a resolution containing a demand to suspend the defense minister's order for the fall draft on Latvian territory. I repeat: This is a preplanned action. What does the future hold? The consequences could be serious. The above-mentioned open letter from the board of the Latvian People's Front Duma admits that spontaneous acts of civil disobedience could begin. How is this to be interpreted? Only as a direct threat and an ultimatum.

[Correspondents] What do you see as the reasons for what is happening?

[Alksnis] A policy that aims to create the conditions for Latvia's secession from the USSR is being pursued. Albeit gradually and with tiny steps, but that is their aim—to create these conditions. For example, in my view, some of the republic's legislative acts have already placed Latvia in a confederate relationship with the Soviet Union. The republic's Supreme Soviet has been given the right to ratify union laws. We pass a law and any deputy in the republic's parliament can "veto" it. That is the situation.

[Correspondents] Does this mean that the republics' rights should be restricted? Incidentally, such proposals were made during the discussion of the draft law on amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution on questions of the electoral system.

[Alksnis] I am only speaking of preserving the general principles of our federalism and the foundations of the state—the soviets. The Latvian People's Front does not recognize these principles. The republics should have the maximum independence in forming their own legislative organs of power. As long as the general principles of the Soviet federation are recognized, of course. Yes, the foundations of the power structure must be laid here in Moscow. But specific issues are within the powers of the republics. Questions of how to elect the republic's Supreme Soviet and its chairman should be decided at local level.

[Correspondents] That is your personal view?

[Alksnis] ...And that of my voters too. I have consulted with them. They are in favor of an equal, direct electoral law, without any qualifications or restrictions.

Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Presidium Meets

LD2610093389 Vilnius in Lithuanian
to North America 0100 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] The agenda for the forthcoming session of the Supreme Soviet as well as the dates of the next two sessions have been agreed on at the session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. These sessions will take place on 23 and 24 November and 4-6 December.

When the agenda of the next session was discussed, which is scheduled for 3 and 4 November, the members of the Presidium spoke out for granting Lithuanian citizenship to all people permanently residing on the territory of Lithuania and being in full employment. When the first reading of the bill on citizenship was discussed at the previous session, permanent residence was included as a requirement for citizenship.

The Presidium also decided that some articles in the draft law on referendum and the law on elections to local soviets should be amended. The issues of citizenship and the referendum have been transferred from the previous session, which has already been reported.

What is new here is that the Presidium will propose amendments to the exisitng Lithuanian constitution at the next session. At the previous session, some deputies urged that two articles should be amended without delay: the article which consolidates the one party system and the article discriminating against the relation of the church and the public.

Another new item on the agenda of the next session is to discuss and probably cancel some all-union regulations which allow people of certain categories, military men or those who had worked in the Far North areas of the USSR, to receive flats for permanent residence on the territory of Lithuania on priveleged conditions.

In response to proposals advanced by numerous public institutions, the Presidium decided that the year 1990 should be declared the Year of the Lithuanian Language. The program for developing the Lithuanian language, which this year has been declared the state language, has been envisaged.

Among many other issues discussed and decisions adopted by the Presidium I would only like to mention that the names of many schools of higher education have been changed. From now on we have Vilnius University, not Vilnius Vincas Kapsukas University [Vincas Mickevicius Kapsukas was one of the founders of the Lithuanian Communist Party]; we have the Kaunas Polytechnical Institute, not Kaunas Antanas Snieckus Polytechnical Institute [Antanas Snieckus was first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee]; we have the Siauliai Teachers Training Institute, not Siauliai Kazys Preiksas State Teachers Training Institute [Kazys Preiksas was a well-known party worker, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee 1940-48]. Names of other schools of higher learning have also been changed.

Brazauskas Address at Lithuanian Plenum

90UN0145A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA
in Russian 13 Oct 89 p 1

[Opening address of Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee First Secretary Algirdas Brazauskas at the 21st Plenum of the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee]

[Text] The objective of the present plenum is to make very important decisions: What the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania is to be about, when it is to be held, and to discuss the documents which have been published or handed out to the members of the Central Committee and others present at this plenum.

At the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, we adopted a resolution which was a turning point [on the path] to the independence of the Communist Party of Lithuania. The discussion at the plenum was detailed, and the resolution was prepared on the basis of it. At present, some people are attempting to criticize the resolution because it differs from the resolution of the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania adopted in February of this year. Indeed, there is a basis for it. However, life does not stand still. We are witnessing processes under way in our entire great state, processes which have begun in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Many other events have occurred during this time. I do not want to discuss extensively the situation in our country, in other republics, in other regions, and, finally, not only in our country but in other socialist states as well—I mean Hungary and Poland. These are the phenomena and processes of perestroyka which are transmitted beyond the boundaries of the USSR as well. However, let us go back to reality.

Since June, there has been much discussion; different opinions have been voiced. Some of them have been submitted for judgment by the public not quite balanced, out of proportion with regard to the opinion of the communists. This should be stated and attributed to the mass media. However, these opinions have to be stated. We must do so in the name of the future, we must know the attitude and position of the members of the Communist Party of Lithuania and of the public. In the future, we have to take resolute steps as well. We can no longer stop. Let us reason why we cannot. This is why I propose to listen at the current plenum to the opinions of as many of its participants as possible, first of all, members of the Central Committee and, having considered them well, decide what is to be done next, what our next steps in the rapid process of perestroyka should be.

There is a great danger of a split in the Communist Party of Lithuania. In making decisions, we, the Central Committee, should first of all think about the fact that the Communist Party of Lithuania cannot, should not split. To my mind, this should be one of the criteria for the decisions we make.

There are different suggestions as to what the congress of the Communist Party of Lithuania should amount to in order to hear the opinion of a majority of communists. Party organizations have become very active both in major cities and in rural rayons. People are involved in discussions, and they await the decisions we will make. I would like to tell you what we discussed over the phone with Comrade Gorbachev when he called this morning knowing that the plenum is to be held today. I would like to render his main arguments which we can and, perhaps, should proceed from in making decisions.

First of all, he said that since June of this year, since the day of our previous plenum, the party has taken a perceptible step forward along the path of perestroyka. He meant the plenum on nationality issues, the platform adopted at the plenum, and the decision to convene the 28th Congress of the party in October of next year. He said that it is planned to submit the drafts of major documents—the program and the statute—for discussion by the entire party, the entire people in the spring or early summer. In this event, communist parties of all republics should hold their congresses prior to the big congress, naturally, electing delegates as always, voicing their opinion on the platform and the statute, and go to the congress with their own opinion. In keeping with this general, logical procedure our congress, which, in principle, we have already decided in June to convene, is sort of not necessary; it could be held in the spring of next year. This is the opinion of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. I reported that here as well different opinions, schools, and trends exist which, as they say, straddle the fence, and at times it is hard to say which ones of them are on the left and which ones on the right, all the more so because we have already decided to hold the congress in an organized manner, with primary organizations of the Communist Party of Lithuania represented democratically by electing delegates mainly in primary organizations.

We have not announced the rate of representation ahead of time. Some people reproach us saying that this should have been done somewhat sooner. We learn from our mistakes. We thought that a congress with the usual number of delegates would be held. The word has now spread through the entire republic party organization: A highly representative congress needs to be convened with approximately 4,000 people participating (one delegate to be elected for 50 communists) so that the congress extensively represents primary party organizations. Many questions arise in conjunction with it; I hope that this plenum will come up with answers, whether positive or negative. We ask that participants in the discussion refer to whether holding such a congress is possible and what the advantages and disadvantages of it are.

There is one more scenario put forth by some members of the Central Committee in the course of consultations prior to the plenum: Perhaps, a forum of Lithuanian communists needs to be convened with the same representation of 4,000 people at the same time as the congress or, more precisely, instead of the congress. Let us hear the results of discussions in this forum, adopt certain resolutions—on the status of the Communist Party of Lithuania, on distancing ourselves from all deformations of Stalinism and their consequences for Lithuania, the Lithuanian people, and other peoples of Lithuania, perhaps, adopt an electoral platform, and set the date for the congress. Then, of course, the congress will be held in the spring since, in keeping with the statute currently in effect, convening a congress should be announced 3 months in advance. Therefore, there is also this scenario which I should mention to the plenum participants. The congress will adopt historic documents, the party program and the statute of the party, form elected organs, and the experience of life suggests that it is virtually impossible to do this with the participation of this number of people, 4,000. It is expected that at the 28th CPSU Congress there will be about 3,000 delegates because it is difficult to handle a greater mass. All of us have seen the course of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. Virtually no decision could have been made. There are other, technical issues, and, finally, finances. Will the party finances bear it? We would be drawing several thousand people away from their work and would get involved in putting them up. I believe that everything has to be weighed thoroughly today.

The organizational committee set up several weeks ago is working so as to convene this very congress. We have talked with representatives of the organizational committee, and tried to find out what the situation is. After all, all of us are communists in one committee or another, and we should find a common language so that there is no division into two or more communist parties. As a political force, the Communist Party of Lithuania may be criticized or not. However, it exists objectively, and we should make it into such a political force which will be recognized in the future as well by the entire public of Lithuania and supported by all party organizations and party committees regardless of their ethnic and social composition. This is our main task.

I invite you to begin the discussion now.

13th Lithuanian Soviet Session Decisions Examined

LD2610130089 Vilnius GIMTASIS KRASTAS in Lithuanian No 40, 5-11 Oct 89

[Commentary by Rimvydas Valatka, assistant editor for history, emigre, farmer and cooperative areas, in "The Week" Section]

[Excerpts] The 13th Session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet—which held so many hopes for both those who are concerned about Lithuania's independence and those who are expending all their efforts to save the regime foisted upon us in 1940—was concluded on Saturday. Once emotions have quieted down historians will be able to appraise the session's results more accurately. However, it is apparent even now that those elected deputies who made up the absolute majority at this "parliament" were preparing yet another rope for Lithuania.

It has been known for some time that functionaries, past and present, would join in a counter attack. We should be surpised: this was accomplished in an organized fashion, only at the end of September. The most popular word at this session was "to postpone"—the citizenship and referendum laws, putting off the election to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet date as far as possible. The fact that our public is a quarter of a century behind in its development and is becoming more and more pressed by economic and moral crises was of no consequence to them. What was of importance to them was the fact that their existence at the top of even the somewhat rotted Olympus would be extended by a month or so. The Supreme Soviet, for many of the deputies, is the last screw appending them to political life. There is a catastrophic increase of "has beens" here.

Of all the draft laws slated for this session, only the Election Law was passed, which revealed the apparatus's goals.

First of all, all soldiers stationed on Lithuanian territory were granted voting rights, without any exceptions. A soldier who is fulfilling a 2-year military duty assignment is moved about frequently. Today he may be in Georgia, tomorrow, in Armenia; this is the type of "voter" who, having arrived from someplace like Sverdlovsk, will have to decide whether A. Brazauskas or A. Juozaitis will protect Lithuanian interests better. Looking at this from a legal point of view, it is nonsense—neither Lithuanian citizens nor members of its population, will elect Lithuania's parliament. From the practical point of view—

people who have voted for this type of law will attempt to use the soldiers' votes. On the other hand, USSR Soviet deputies will be unable to become deputies of the Lithuanian parliament. Many arguments have been presented there, but the most important one was not stated: This is because Sajudis people constitute a majority of the Soviet deputies. If the situation were to be reversed, this type of question would not have occurred even among our parliamentarians, who "are working ever better." Whenever the need arises to demonstrate a quest for unity in an active manner, things are done in a contradictory fashion—Lithuania's force is divided, and the opportunity to have the best representatives of Lithuania in the first democratically elected parliament has been missed.

In showing a tape of the session, evening television often focused on the huge Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Coat of Arms hanging over the entire parliament hall. This session was held under the coat of arms shared by all union republics—with Stalin's sun and the hammer and sickle.

The Moscow Supreme Soviet session was continuing at the same time.

There, dilettantism was exhibited, not only by average parliamentarians but also by M. Gorbachev himself. In talking about cooperatives, for instance, he based himself on the "worker's voice," rather than economic analysis. Such improvisations force one to pay attention. M. Gorbachev stated this week: "The next 2 weeks will decide everything. The fate of socialism, too." Two or three years was also mentioned in 1985.

There exists an obvious shortage of new ideas, but most significantly there exists a lack of decisive action to be accompanied by a renunciation of imperialist goals, an acknowledgement of USSR crimes against nations, a solution of nationality self-determination and coexistence problems, not to mention the open regression at the CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationality question. One gets the impression the general secretary's speeches are directed solely at his rivals in the Politburo. A division becomes apparent—M. Gorbachev, up to the 19th party conference in June 1988 and following the conference, starting with the unpleasant episode at the Supreme Soviet in August of last year while deliberating the Karabakh problem. Reluctantly, one comes to a conclusion: Either M. Gorbachev has already said everything he had to say, or, having come up against gigantic opposition from the party and other government officials, he has become aware of the uselessness of the struggle and is not deciding to depend on the "lower strata." The fact is neither he nor the entire state has made any headway in a year. This can not continue for long. This is why an attempt to legalize that which was illegal in the past is becoming increasingly obvious. Trust in nationalities, and their will is on the decline. [passage omitted] Within the next 6 months, an attempt will be made to foist a hybrid property law upon us, accompanied by a new federation agreement that should legalize the occupation of Lithuania. Will our hopes perish? Are the pessimists who compare M. Gorbachev with N. Khrushchev correct?

According to R. Ozolas, we should support M. Gorbachev even when he ceases to be M. Gorbachev. N. Khrushev's period was still abounding in illusions of socialism, such as, "to catch up and surpass." Today, even the apparatus members understand: We will not catch up, and certainly we will not surpass. Everything boils down to: how to extend the driver's monopoly. The public, however, is starting to become aware of it—and not just in the Baltics—thus unavoidably decreasing the "drivers" social base. That is why voices are heard more frequently, even on Central Television, in favor of a multiparty system. In this type of situation, where stability is diminishing, progress is at a standstill; our own procrastination, as exemplified at the 13th session of the Supreme Soviet is doubly dangerous, since it gives rise to unfounded illusions that Moscow or the military will become conciliatory. That does not happen! That is why, in talking about unity, we must ask: Unity on what basis? Unity is not a goal, but a means toward achievement of a goal. Currently, at a time when Lithuania is not allowed to develop naturally, it is quite possible we will be forced to announce independence prior to being granted economic independence.

On Monday and Tuesday Lithuania took a step closer to Europe. Birgita Dahl, Sweden's Minister of Energy, visited Lithuania for the first time during the Soviet years. She was accompanied by U.S. Senator G. Hart and 12 press and television journalists—an unusual occurrence for Sweden, according to Sweden's Trade Section Chairman, Stefan Eriksson. The minister talked about how Sweden is decreasing its nuclear power station numbers, how they will make use of sun and wind energy and renounce ecologically pollutant oil and coal energy. The popular slogan of Lithuanian reformers—pragmatists: "Having left the USSR, we will be without raw materials," lost even more of its credibility. In other words, we are being oriented toward yesterday, once again. Raw materials are being wasted indiscriminately, and Russia will have enough raw materials to last for only several more decades. Thus, in seeking self-determination is it worth it to rely on momentary advantage? Lithuania is entering an election marathon. Before the fever commences, we have reason to be glad—K. Prunskene has brought some credits from Esen (FRG) for Lithuania, not for USSR.

Bad Management, Pilfering Hurt Economy

PM2710093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Oct 89 Second Edition p 6

[G. Ovcharenko report under the rubric "At the USSR Prosecutor's Office": "Action Against Sloppy Workmanship"]

[Text] For several years workers at the Kirovskiy Rayon Joint Trade Association's No 24 store in Baku City had a pretty good idea as to who their real boss was. Someone called Mamedov had only to appear at this trade center for the store manager to "jump to attention," as they say, and do his every bidding. Over the course of several years this Mamedov, who did not actually work anywhere, together with the nominal store managers managed to embezzle more than R200,000.

This and similar cases were cited yesterday by V. Andreyev, USSR deput<mfflG Prosecutor's Office Collegium. The speaker reported that in the space of just 18 months law-enforcement bodies have brought to light more than 136,000 embezzlements involving abuse of official position, instituted criminal charges against 136,500 people for embezzlement and official and economic crimes, and calculated that the total damage caused amounts to R400 million. Firmly established, well-organized groups of embezzlers and bribe-takers have been exposed in the Ukraine, the Uzbek, Kazakh, Azerbaijan, Armenian, and Turkmen union republics, and in Moscow. The damage caused by transgressions in the national economy is continuing to increase and the state loses more than R4 billion every year through shortages of material assets, their embezzlement, or their being allowed to go to waste.

Having analyzed the reasons for these truly colossal losses, you realize that bad management, squandering, and sloppy workmanship are far more dangerous to the economy than a thousand Mamedovs. Call in at any food and vegetable store and you will find that the shelves are empty. At the same time, due to bad management in the agro-industrial complex and transport 2.4 million tonnes of meat and meat products, 20 million tonnes of grain, 4 million tonnes of vegetables, and 8.1 million tonnes of potatoes are either lost or pilfered.

The state has allocated considerable sums of money to purchase imported industrial goods and foodstuffs, but, instead of reaching the consumer, a staggering proportion of these goods is held up at transport terminals due to confusion in the departments concerned. Some 20,000 railroad cars carrying imported goods have accumulated at the border stations of the Belorussian and Lvov railways alone. But, even supposing that these goods went on sale today, would the consumer be satisfied? Hardly. In just 18 months, experts from the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry have rejected more than 1.5 million pairs of imported footwear and approximately 1.6 million units of knitwear as unfit for sale. According to data supplied by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, because of unnecessary imports, stocks of old, unmarketable goods increase by R40 million every year and, across the country as a whole, stocks have now accumulated to the value of almost R1 billion(!). Those responsible for acquiring these goods from across the ocean should be made to buy them all!

Bad management, sloppy workmanship, and incompetence are devastating to the economy. No mafia in the world could cause the state as much damage as the ignorant, indifferent people holding high posts.

The sitting of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium discussed measures being taken to prevent and stop transgressions in the economy. For example, in the last 18 months Prosecutor's Office organs have issued warnings on the intolerability of transgressions and orders to eliminate violations of the law to 86,600 leaders, while 225,100 officials and materially liable people have had disciplinary, administrative, and material charges brought against them. More than 280,000 court actions have been instituted for compensation amounting to R336 million. We lose billions and get back a few crumbs.

Admitting that the Prosecutor's Office has allowed serious omissions in its monitoring of compliance with legislation, the members of the collegium drew up specific measures to improve the situation. One can only hope that they are translated into real action rather than simply remaining on paper. For example, legal action should be taken against ministries, departments, and enterprises who have particularly "distinguished themselves" with regard to bad management.

It has long been a well known fact that impunity gives rise to irresponsibility. If irresponsibility and its results—bad management, sloppy workmanship, and incompetence—are going to be prosecuted. This must be done as strictly as possible, not just by the Prosecutor's Office but by all of us.

Ryzhkov Questioned on Goods Delays

904H0038A Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Oct 89 p 1

[Text of "Deputies' Inquiry to Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] During September and October this year the press and Central Television have been systematically providing alarming information on backlogs of goods accumulating in sea ports and at some of the wholesale bases for imported goods. According to TRUD, on 19 October 67,000 tons had accumulated in the sea ports alone. Fabrics, detergents, medicines, tea, and radio sets do not reach the consumer for months. This is happening against the backdrop of the very acute shortages of consumer goods and the people's growing dissatisfaction.

The opinion is hardening among workers that this is the consequence of deliberate actions by a certain circle of officials. Acting on the principle of the worse things are the better, for their own egotistical interests they are trying to compromise the economic reform in the eyes of the people and preserve the administrative-command system. On the instructions of the voters in Nefteyugansk city, Tyumen Oblast, I propose the following:

1. That the Council of Ministers be assigned to look into this question thoroughly. It should insure a normal rhythm in the processing and delivery of those cargoes before 15 November.

2. That by 15 November it report to the Supreme Soviet on the results of the work done, and also on who among the officials has been made responsible for the situation that has taken shape, and how. Giving due consideration to the fact that the resolution of similar questions is a direct administrative function of the Council of Ministers apparatus, responsibility should also be extended to its workers.

[Signed] V. Gustov, USSR People's Deputy.
Nefteyugansk, 24 October.

Details of Democratic Movements Conference

PM1710161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Oct 89 Second Edition p 3

[Correspondent N. Volynskiy article: "Who Is Minting What? Notes from the All-Union Conference of Democratic Movements and Organizations in Leningrad"]

[Text] Leningrad—PRAVDA has already reported on the meeting which brought together delegates from virtually all over the country. Now it is possible to describe it in greater detail. I personally was most impressed by two speeches. They differed sharply from the rest, even though these for their part presented quite a variegated picture. There were about 150 participants in the conference hall, representing 81 organizations from South Sakhalin to the Baltic, from Murmansk to the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. In addition to the already familiar titles of organizations, like People's Front for example, there were some totally unexpected ones: "Conference of Anarcho-Syndicalists" or "Committee of New Socialists." There were also organizations styling themselves parties.

Briefly speaking, it is not easy to put these pieces of mosaic together and produce some sort of strictly defined "image" of the conference—the participants' speeches and evaluations were so contradictory and at times even mutually exclusive.

Nonetheless, I repeat, there were two speeches which stood out in particular. One of the participants, on taking the floor, suddenly described the meeting as... "a seminar on separatism." He mercilessly criticized some of the ideas and proposals expressed there. "You will end up provoking an exacerbation of the situation in the country," he said.

It would have made sense if these words had been uttered by someone holding conservative-reactionary positions. But this sharp and surprising statement was made by A. Bogdanov, a widely known "informal figure" in Leningrad. Former member of the "Democratic Union." And mandatory participant in unauthorized rallies.

At this point I could talk about evolution of views and positions, about reappraisal of values. This could well have happened, especially since I have observed such an evolution among some other leaders of the informal movement in Leningrad: They switch from scathing phraseology to businesslike attitudes, from the desire to gain popularity at any cost to the quest for positive solutions. As a matter of fact this could also be observed at the conference. A sign of the times: Words have also suffered the effects of inflation, and the time has come to halt, look around, and take stock. After all, going no further than Leningrad itself, the last elections of USSR people's deputies had the effect of a cold shower not just on the city's party leaders. Some leaders of the People's Front and other social movements claiming the role of vanguards also suffered a shock. Their "harvest" of votes ran into single percentage points or even just fractions of a percentage point.

Nonetheless, I do feel that such a sharp statement by an "informal figure" was a direct reaction to the report, whose text it would be best to publish in full but—alas—the space available is limited. I shall therefore cite just the basic theses.

"The higher echelons of power, primarily as personified by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, have launched a mass offensive against the democratic forces of perestroyka. These 'echelons' are against a radical solution to questions of ownership, land, socialist enterprises, and so on. One of this offensive's manifestations was the Tbilisi tragedy, which had already been 'rehearsed' in Alma-Ata, Kuropaty, and elsewhere. The CPSU has no prestige whatsoever, the country has gotten nowhere in the 70 years under its leadership. There is a terrible prospect of Soviet, primarily Baltic, republics sinking into the bottomless pit we know as the Soviet Union. The CPSU must close down PRAVDA which is misleading Soviet society."

Replying to participants' questions, the speaker specifically added that the present legislative process is "the ultimate in illusionism." Furthermore, he said that at one point he felt as if the system of power had collapsed at its central link—the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. But the Politburo, you see, is recovering and has launched a mass offensive against the champions of radical transformations.

Such statements have been heard on dozens, if not hundreds, of occasions at sundry rallies in different parts of Leningrad. This speech may not have even attracted any special attention had it not been delivered by Yu. Afanasyev, a historian and USSR people's deputy. He delivered one of the main conference reports, and some of its tenets were included in the resolution "On the Political Situation."

Hardly anyone is likely to be amazed by sharp words nowadays. Perception has probably been dulled. The times have also changed. Let us recall what used to happen at some informal rallies just a few months ago. All a speaker had to do was declare support for a multiparty system or for convening a constituent assembly or opposition to Article 6 of the USSR Constitution and he was assured of success and support. This was because such words used to be followed by repressions in the past. And people's desire to defend the brave was understandable. But now nobody persecutes anyone for what he might say.

Euphoria is to be avoided because it is followed by a tough period of sobering up. We are obviously living through such a period today. It has become apparent that a gigantic state like ours cannot be successfully restructured in 2-3 years. That matters are much more complex. That those selfsame democratic movements—wonderful in their romanticism—can already generate their own problems.

The time of ringing slogans has passed, and this was very well demonstrated by many speakers at the conference. Figuratively speaking, it would be nice to take autonomous steps in conditions where we all heat our own rooms—this was the conclusion implied in the speeches and reports by some representatives of Baltic and other republics. But today, when all the country's regions are interlinked through economic ties, when they all share one and the same "district heating system," it would be senseless to reject its advantages. In other words, despite all the diversity, a businesslike approach and attempts at serious analysis were nonetheless the main element of the conference's work.

For example, a representative of the People's Front of Estonia (Tartu City) greeted with some amazement the call made at the conference to destroy the existing structure of state power. In his opinion, the convening of a constituent assembly is not a slogan to be taken seriously. The speaker was convinced that it is necessary to make sensible use of existing structures, that they offer greater opportunities.

A member of the "Perestroyka" Club from Makhachkala called: "A little patience!" Extreme importance now attaches to political stability in society; only if this condition is met can the many economic and political problems be solved. But if the process of national revival outstrips the processes of democratization, national bureaucracies will come to power in the republics.

This presentation of the issue seemed unusual, but in any event it did destroy that conventional stereotype view of the state of nationalities problems. No, this process cannot be reduced to just two of its manifestations—nationalism and internationalism. Its roots go much deeper. Academician I. Minkyavichyus, member of the "Sayudis" Sejm Council and secretary of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Department, bluntly declared that the main contradiction today arises not between nations but between society, which wants to become civic, and obsolete economic and political structures. In this complex process, he emphasized, the CPSU and the republic communist parties can and must play a progressive and stabilizing role.

It is possible to cite other examples of the interest shown by members of democratic organizations and movements in the fate of the motherland and the fate of socialism. Judging by everything, many of them had graduated from a sound school for political beliefs.

This school demands profound competence. It would be wrong to say that all who had assembled in Leningrad for the conference displayed such qualities. It was no accident that the speech by V. Yakovlev, who introduced himself as member of the Lithuanian Democratic Party, sounded like a cry from the heart: "Perestroyka has opened the country's doors to democracy and glasnost. It is understandable that people's fronts try to solve problems on a countrywide scale, in other words that they engage in politics. But politicians must be honest and respectable people. And yet anyone who feels like it can slip inside democratic organizations—from frenzied extremists to downright fools."

And he called for this ballast to be dumped.

Actually, you could say in this context: Whereas some are masters of the methods of political persuasion, others are successfully developing means to dupe people politically. This was also well demonstrated at the conference.

A delegate from Ivanovo, for example, revealed the "secret" of the dramatic events in Fergana. It appears that they were nothing but "intrigues" by the center: You see, a member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo had visited Uzbekistan only a short while earlier! But let us assume that this is due to the fact that the delegate is not accustomed to thinking logically. He immediately demanded a unionwide strike for the Politburo member's resignation. Those present laughed at his statement.

M. Salye, leader of the Leningrad People's Front, built part of her report on the premise that one of V.I. Lenin's first steps in October 1917 was to eliminate all parties except the Bolshevik Party. But let us assume that this was due to insufficient knowledge. A doctor of geological and mineralogical sciences may not know history too well, especially the fact that a coalition government existed in the country until the summer of 1918.

But let us turn back to the report by Historian Yu. Afanasyev. I have no desire to engage in a debate with the scientist, especially since personally I am convinced that this would be totally unproductive. As readers may recall, for example, Yu. Afanasyev accused PRAVDA of telling lies and misleading people. It was then that I asked Yuriy Nikolayevich to cite even one single example. He was unable to do so. He spoke of "lines" and "directions," of the fact that he dislikes some of the material and that he totally dislikes our newspaper, and was unsparing with negative adjectives. But is this proof?

I asked similar questions—accompanied by a request for specific instances—in connection with some of his report's other positions. How is it possible to perceive the Tbilisi tragedy as proof of an "offensive against democratic forces?" After all, even the commission formed by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies has still not concluded its investigation of this complex affair. But Yu. Afanasyev has already formed his opinion. Not arguments, but actually an opinion expressed in scathing words.

Of course, unsubstantiated claims do not augment anybody's prestige, be he a journalist or an historian. At the same time, the free expression of opinions is a personal matter for everyone. There comes a time, however, when opinions must be thoroughly verified. Especially when someone's standing as a scientist or a deputy is being exploited for the sake of some different objectives, far removed from the study of history. Only slightly paraphrasing F. Nietzsche's words, you could say: If a historian starts playing the role of a priest, "we are no longer amazed by his habit of minting forged coin, thus deceiving himself... But what is a priest's need for knowledge! He is far above science." But worst of all is the fact that such situations provide a breeding ground for the emergence of sundry political superstitions.

Yu. Afanasyev's report served as a basis for the conference resolution on the political situation. Apart from anything else, it contains accusations against the CPSU which supposedly does not desire radical transformations in society, and whose goal is only to modernize the existing system. This is perhaps the basic point, because it immediately becomes clear who must be punished and whose place is to be taken over.

An interesting situation has developed today: Criticizing the CPSU has almost become the accepted thing to do. Nonetheless, any criticism must be proper and objective. But this propriety is somehow lacking. Yesterday's political superstition that "The Party Can Do Everything!" has yielded to today's "The Party Can Do Nothing!"

But what does history tell us? Namely that the party and its best elements were the first to experience the insanity of Stalin's terror. That the CPSU itself fell victim to the administrative system created by Stalin and his cronies, who identified themselves with the party. And who is it today, if not the party and its best minds, who led the country to perestroyka? Even this conference would hardly have taken place in Leningrad if there had been any sort of "mass offensive against democratic forces."

Let us cast our minds back to the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum, the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and subsequent party plenums, let us recall how the country's Communists consistently and persistently built a program for getting out of the economic, political, social, and nationalities crises. Yes, we could not avoid mistakes, yes, this process is hard and painful, but it is a real and businesslike process. As opposed to the amorphous programs of some "oppositionists," built mainly on rejection and criticism. And what is the outcome today? There is no serious and convincing alternative to the program put forward by the party. Is there anything apart from criticism?

There are, for example, attempts to attain some of their goals using well and truly old methods—from the arsenal of the thirties. At the time when THOSE trials were going on, the streets were filled by demonstrators. Their slogan was: "Squash the oppositionists like rabid dogs!" Here is something contemporary: No sooner had one of PRAVDA's recent issues come out with a brief report containing slight criticism of Yu. Afanasyev and his speech in Leningrad when blatant disinformation was set in motion. USSR People's Deputy G. Starovoytova declared: "PRAVDA's correspondent was in the conference hall incognito." Such behavior, if true, would have done me no credit. But this was a fabrication. I was officially accredited. Nonetheless, the deputy's statement was also heard on Leningrad Television's "Alternativa" Program. Program Editor S. Degtyarev promised to remedy the mistake. He failed to keep his word. So much for present-day love for truth.

G. Stavrovoytova also expressed strange indignation about the fact that the report's text had not been "coordinated with any of the speakers." Our newspaper has spent many years struggling against such "coordination." Even the draft law on the press provides for rejection of this practice. And now the old demand is to be heard again—and where? At a sitting of members of the interregional deputies' group. And suddenly views are expressed about the need for a special law to prevent any discrediting of deputies. Before even there had been a chance to mothball this word. Would it, perhaps, be simpler to restore Article 11 (1) of the Criminal Code, which was abolished by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies? Or to quietly create a fresh exclusion zone for criticism?...

No political superstition can exist for ever. Although at times it might prove rather tenacious of life. But its importance need not be exaggerated, as the finale of the Leningrad conference proved.

The conference of democratic organizations adopted resolutions—a political one, on the nationalities question, on the creation of an interregional association of democratic organizations. Serious, tough resolutions. There are provisions which essentially rule out the CPSU's participation in perestroyka. But this was not the main surprise. Votes in favor of the resolutions were cast by... less than half of delegates.

"What next?" I asked O. Vite, one of the Leningrad People's Front leaders. "The resolutions are ineffective. And yet the public will accept them as genuine coin."

"Yes indeed," my interlocutor sighed. "Let the public figure it out."

I hope that the "public" will indeed figure out who is minting what.

Economic

State Bank Announces Convertible Ruble After 1 Nov

LD2510111889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1036 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 October (TASS)—The USSR State Bank announces that in accordance with a decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, on 1 November 1989 a special reduced rate for exchanging rubles into freely convertible currencies for providing hard currency for Soviet and foreign citizens is being introduced. It is based on an exchange rate of 6 rubles 26 kopecks to $1.

The special rate will be used by banking establishments in the USSR when selling freely convertible currencies and means of payment in these currencies to citizens going abroad on personal business (visiting relatives, tourist trips, and so on) and in buying such currency and means of payment, including transactions involving the payment of rubles from the currency accounts of Soviet citizens, and also in selling freely convertible currencies and means of payment in these currencies to state, cooperative, and some public and other enterprises for purposes connected with business trips abroad by the workers.

The special exchange rate for the ruble into freely convertible currencies will be published each month along with the official USSR State Bank exchange rate in IZVESTIYA the day before both exchange rates come into force.

Zaykov Addresses Defense Conversion Forum

PM2410141889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversion: The View From the Capital"]

[Text] The conversion that has begun—a concrete manifestation of the new thinking—should have a favorable effect on the world political climate and the state of our economy. Its scale will have a considerable influence on Moscow's development as the country's major economic center.

Complex questions of the switching of defense sectors onto a civilian footing, in particular the regional aspects, were discussed at a conference of the capital's party and economic aktiv on 23 October. Taking part were secretaries of party organizations, directors, general designers, and chairmen of labor collective councils and trade union committees of the city's enterprises and scientific institutions, party and soviet workers, leaders and party committee secretaries of ministries and departments, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers.

It was noted in the report by I.S. Belousov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Military-Industrial Questions, and the speeches by participants in the conference that the capital's defense complex plays a significant role in its economy and actively influences the social nature of Moscow.

It is necessary, the speakers said, to create all the conditions for increasing the development and production here of consumer goods and equipment for processing industries, light industry, and health care.

The conference was addressed by L.N. Zaykov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow City CPSU Committee [Gorkom]. The decision on conversion, he stressed, set the defense sectors of industry the task of switching over the capacities released from the production of arms and military hardware to the manufacture of civilian output and consumer goods.

In the current 5-year plan Moscow's enterprises have overfulfilled annual targets for conversion. In 1990 the growth in production of output for the population will be on average 135 percent of the current year's level. That will make it possible to produce goods worth at least R2 for every R1 of the wages fund.

The defense complex is now entrusted with a crucial new task—to ensure the retooling of light and food industry, processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, trade, and public catering. Here, too, much is being done by the capital's enterprises and scientific institutions. But in the conditions of the shortages of goods and services and the high rate of growth of the population's monetary income, the defense sectors' contribution to the city's budget today is inadequate.

Leveling out the scientific and technical standards at defense and nondefense sectors of industry is one of the most important tasks of conversion, in particular in the Moscow region. Everything advanced that is available to the defense sectors should be handed on.

The practical implementation of conversion makes it necessary to surmount barriers of all kinds, first and foremost in the thinking of the leaders and all the workers of defense enterprises. The conversion process does not only affect the production of military hardware. The intellectual potential released from scientific research institutes and design bureaus in these sectors will also be used to resolve the most urgent national economic problems.

The effective implementation of this complex and multifaceted process requires a well considered and coordinated program. The first steps toward conversion have basically been taken. The Moscow CPSU Gorkom sees the matter like this: At each enterprise there should be a specialized production facility for goods, producing output amounting to at least R1 for every R1 of the wage fund. Leaders of enterprises and organizations, in conjunction with ministries, must finalize the "Progress-95" program in the course of the preparation of conversion measures for 1990 and the 13th 5-Year Plan.

It is planned to devote considerable attention to stepping up the production of equipment for light and food industry, processing sectors of the agro-industrial complex, trade, and public catering. Moscow enterprises are already producing 320 types of such equipment, and more than 90 are at the development stage.

The standard of work of the defense complex has always depended critically on the effectiveness of the activity of central organs. However, a very important role in resolving both social and production tasks belongs to the labor collectives.

This year has already shown how difficult the reorientation of defense enterprises is. In order to carry it out we will have to resolve complex problems of a technical, economic, and social nature. However, the difficulties will be temporary and can in no way be compared with the positive results that will ensue from the curbing of the arms race, the normalization of the international atmosphere, and the increase in confidence in the world.

The conversion of the defense industry is strictly a party matter, and it is the party committees that are called upon to head this work. However, a tendency for party organizations to avoid participating directly in the resolution of economic problems has been observed recently. People say that given the division of functions, this is not the party's concern. A dangerous delusion. The state of affairs in the economy determines the sociopolitical situation, and therefore it cannot but concern Communists. There has been a decline in the attention devoted to the work of defense complex enterprises by rayon party committees, ministries' party committees, and the gorkom defense department, which often become bogged down in purely economic matters and lose sight of the problems of the moral and psychological climate and the ideological situation in the collectives.

The party should learn from life. Lenin's tenet that socialism is the creativity of the masses, not research done in offices, is well known. It is necessary to formulate conceptual approaches. But these can be realized only through organizational, ideological, and political work among the masses, through real practice. The party's function is to put forward a concept and fight for socialist values, and after that everything depends on the masses' own creativity and our work with them.

The times we are living through are crucial for the country. It is necessary at all costs to maintain the main direction of progress. Measures to lessen the socioeconomic tension are necessary. But activeness is also needed in the ideological sphere.

A process of constructing new forms of life—both political and economic—is under way. The adoption of measures to normalize the market, the implementation of the second stage of political reform, the preparations for and holding of the 28th CPSU Congress—all this will enable us in approximately a year to lessen the tension and promote stability in progress along the path of democratization and economic renewal. We will firmly continue the development of socialism on the basis of the approaches suggested by perestroyka.

N.P. Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and O.S. Belyakov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Defnese Department, took part in the conference.

News Conference Held on Converting War Industries

LD2510162889 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 25 TASS—The main reason to convert war industry enterprises to civilian production in the USSR is to improve the function of the economy by transferring advanced technologies, funding and labour from the war industry to civilian production, maintains Vsevolod Avduyevskiy, chairman of the Soviet National Commission for Assistance to Conversion of War Industries to Civilian Production.

At a news confernce at the USSR Foreign Ministry's press centre today, the Soviet scientist noted that the implementation of conversion involves numerous difficulties that cannot be overcome without broad public support.

The USSR Academy of Sciences and the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions suggested that a public commission be formed to help governmental bodies work out an integral concept for conversion and its implementation. The commission is sponsored by the Soviet Peace Foundation.

The commission's leaders are not inclined to underestimate difficulties involved in the conversion.

Gennadiy Yanayev, deputy chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, said that instant economic advantages should not be expected from conversions. The switching of enterprises to civilian production requires considerable outlays of capital and effort.

"Conversion also involves social and psychological problems", he said. "The initial experience of converting war industry enterprises to civilian production showed that highly skilled workers find it difficult to adjust to work that does not require special skills. Moreover, they have gotten accustomed to high earnings".

Yenayev believes that when an industry is converted, civilian production should not be less science-intensive than war industry production. A committee of experts has been formed as part of the commission framework, to draw up a list of goods that enterprises converted to civilian production could manufacture. The trade union leader believes that following this list will help workers to retain high wages.

International cooperation is important in the commission's work. The commission is preparing a major international conference, in connection with the United Nations, devoted to the problem of conversion.

It is planned to be held in June in Moscow. Vladimir Aksenov, member of the commission's leadership and deputy chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Foundation, was elected chairman of the organising committee of the forthcoming conference.

Goskomstat Chairman Gives Economic Figures

LD2010211189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1845 GMT 19 Oct 89

["Topical interview," with V.N. Kirichenko, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, Goskomstat; date and place not given—recorded]

[Summary] During the first 9 months of the year, consumer goods production increased by almost R15 billion, though that was R15 billion behind the target for the period. Food production grew by 3.2 percent, but deliveries to retail outlets increased by only 1 percent. There are some good indications on sugar beets and groats, but very serious disruptions with potatoes and vegetables.

There was an uncontrollable growth of 12.2 percent in the population's income over the 9 month period. By comparison, retail goods turnover grew by 9.9 percent, the volume of chargeable services by 8.2 percent, and the production of consumer goods, including alcoholic beverages, by 7.8 percent. These figures indicate monetary values. Taking inflation into account and discounting growth in alcohol sales, the volume of goods actually made available to the population increased by only 4 percent. Unless harsh and unpopular measures are taken, we shall be unable to cope with the situation. Income growth must be brought under control to prevent further disequilibrium in the market.

In the past 9-month period, 840,000 apartments were commissioned. This, however, was 6 percent less than for the same period last year. There were decreases in the commissioning of other premises too: a 23-percent fall for schools, 19 percent for preschool establishments, 13 percent for hospitals, and 9 percent for polyclinics. This is largely due to the attitudes of local authorities. In places such as Kazakhstan, where construction of facilities is the center of attention, the results are considerably better.

New Charity Bank To Aid Social Programs

LD2010204689 Moscow TASS in English 2005 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow October 20 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Yuriy Stepanov:

The Moscow Charity Bank (MCB) is the name of a new financial institution set up here. The meeting of a constituent council which opened in Moscow today, examined the principles of its operations.

The bank will credit and finance social programmes by enlisting funds and donations from offices, industrial enterprises, public and religious societies as well as from individuals in the USSR and abroad.

The bank is founded by the Ministry of Social Security and the Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation, the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the Credit and Finance Institute of Soviet Banks at the USSR State bank and the Foreign Economic Association Interservis.

Valeriy Nurkov, head of the public council for the bank's establishment, told TASS that decisions on financing social programmes will be made by the Council of Trustees at an application of the bank's board.

Charity activities will be made public: The bank plans to publish a bulletin with a detailed information on all donations and projects they fund.

The bank's charter capital will be 58 million rubles. An initial one million ruble contribution gives the right to a deciding vote at the Council of Trustees.

Apart from its main functions, the bank will set up joint ventures in the Soviet Union and other countries. Profits from these enterprises will also be used for charity programmes.

To implement its tasks, the bank plans to open subsidiaries and offices throughout the USSR and abroad.

Military

Yazov, Lizichev Address Army Ideologists

PM2610092489 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Oct 89 First Edition p 1-2

[Unattributed report: "Activeness of Thought and Deed"]

[Text] A recent All-Army Conference of Ideological Workers was devoted to comprehensively discussing topical problems of the spiritual life of military collectives and improving the forms and methods of educating personnel in the conditions of broadly developing the processes of democratization and glasnost and deepening restructuring in the Armed Forces.

Army General D. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, gave a long speech to those assembled. He stressed that the revolutionary renewal taking place in the country is naturally reflected in the direction, substance, and pace of restructuring of defense organizational development and all spheres of life and activity in the Army and Navy. It embraces a broad range of issues connected with bringing the combat potential of the Army and Navy to the limits of reasonable sufficiency and developing the optimum forms of organizing units and combined units, staffing them, and training and educating personnel.

The 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference formulated new approaches to solving the problems of ensuring the country's reliable defense and security. The first Congress of USSR People's Deputies spoke in favor of the further qualitative development of the Armed Forces in line with the existing principles of their formation. He confirmed the need to continue to show concern for our Army, which is educated in the spirit of patriotism, closely connected with all the Soviet people, and loyal to their ideals.

Analyzing the political and military-technical aspects of Soviet military doctrine, Army General D. Yazov stressed the special importance for ideological workers to understand the strictly defensive nature of its key principles. They are: The USSR will never, under any circumstances, be the first to start military operations; it will never be the first to use nuclear weapons; it does not have any territorial claims against anybody; and it does not regard any state as its enemy. Soviet military doctrine is geared to the task of preventing war and is based on the need to radically reduce the level of military confrontation, end the arms race, implement real disarmament measures, and realize the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense.

In the conditions of the unilateral large-scale cuts made by our country, the center of gravity in defense organizational development is moving away from quantitative indicators and toward qualitative indicators in the equipment, military science, and composition of the Armed Forces. This is the key to successfully resolving all the tasks of restructuring. A most important task facing ideological workers is to cultivate a thorough understanding of this in the minds of command-political cadres and the broad military masses and mobilize them to implement this fundamental party directive in practice.

The USSR defense minister touched on several ideological aspects of restructuring cadre work, noting, in particular, the importance of ensuring unconditional glasnost in this work, observing the principles of social justice, and decisively quashing instances of cronyism.

Disseminating progressive experience in restructuring, consolidating results, and making positive processes in military collectives irreversible has great significance for steadily enhancing the political and service activeness of personnel. Success in this respect is the more tangible, the more fully the human factor is brought into play. Only an active, principled stand, efficiency, and consistent, purposeful implementation of the party line now ensure effective, good quality ideological work, which can be said of all political education work. Marking time occurs when there is a discrepancy between word and deed, when real concern is substituted with empty talk, and when there is a parasitical attitude to overcoming and eliminating shortcomings. Hence the following demands on ideological workers: A high degree of professionalism, a clear-cut political and moral stance, firmness of character, great inner organization and discipline, and a broad range of spiritual needs and interests. This is far from the complete list of qualities required in the modern-day officer-mentor, whose sphere of activity is ideology—that eternal battle, as the writer Vladimir Karpov rightly described it. This battle must not be lost.

Life poses ideological cadres with many problems in the sphere of interethnic relations. Army General D. Yazov devoted particular attention to modern approaches to their resolution. Acting in the spirit of the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum decisions and on the basis of the party platform, it is now necessary to organize work differently to unite multiethnic military collectives, actively shape patriotic, internationalist qualities in servicemen, and cultivate in them love for our socialist motherland, the USSR, which is the motherland of all Soviet peoples, as well as readiness to defend it bravely and ably. In this respect, the severity of interethnic problems must not be underestimated as has been the case in the past. But, for all their complexity, calls for national exclusivity must be given a principled, unambiguous appraisal and an uncompromising rebuttal.

Thoughtful, painstaking work is a must here. It is necessary to establish relations of friendship and comradeship in military collectives and establish and strengthen real internationalist spirit in every subunit and unit and on every ship. Trust in one another, military comradeship, mutual assistance and mutual help, and friendship among servicemen are very important components of a high degree of combat readiness in the Armed Forces. That is why it is necessary to systematically study the mood among personnel and conduct specific, individual work based on a knowledge of national character traits, customs, and traditions and an equal, even attitude to all military servicemen without exception. The Army must be a school of internationalism and a school of friendship and fraternity between peoples in reality, in practice.

The USSR defense minister devoted a great deal of attention in his speech to questions of strengthening military discipline. Discipline founded on a high level of consciousness, collectivism, and comradeship and a respectful attitude to the individual and his dignity. It is precisely this moral aspect of discipline in the Army that sometimes remains outside the influence of ideological workers. This is the source of inaccurate, tardy execution of orders and instructions, formalism, and negligence. Violations of this nature are now more than chance, isolated instances in military service. They must be assessed from a political standpoint. After all, weapons being lost, ammunition stolen, traumatism, and unfortunate accidents involving human fatalities—these and many other instances have a negative impact on the authority of the Armed Forces.

A barrier can be placed in the way of such violations only by involving all the potential of democratic institutions in the military in the struggle for order and discipline, as well as the soldiers, sergeants, and officers themselves and the Army and Navy community. There is broad scope for activity by workers on the ideological front in this respect. All forces and resources must be used to create in military, scientific, and labor collectives and in training and academic auditoriums an atmosphere of intolerance to any deviations from statutory requirements. There are a great many ways and means of doing this. But rather poor use is made of such a powerful means of influence and such a vast moral reserve as sense of pride in bearing the title of Soviet serviceman, in belonging to our glorious Armed Forces, and in being involved in continuing and increasing their traditions. It is necessary to breathe more life and ideological significance into military rituals and make more active use of the wealth of tradition in the units, on the ships, and throughout the Armed Forces.

Preparations for the 45th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces in the Great Patriotic War open up new opportunities for the ideological aktiv to intensify their work to educate young people in the revolutionary, labor, and combat traditions of the party, people, and Army. Our military glory must be turned into a constant generator for the formation of patriotic, internationalist spirit. This is particularly relevant in view of the fact that attempts have been made recently in some regions to form a negative attitude to fulfillment of one's constitutional duty, military service, and to the Armed Forces. Ideological workers and all Communists in the Army and Navy are required to take a firm ideological and moral stand. It must also be an active stand, a militant stand, oriented toward the individual and closely linked to the solution of practical tasks in the combined unit, in the unit, and on the ship and to real work to enhance the political and service activeness of personnel and educate them in a patriotic, internationalist spirit.

Revolutionary transformations in the country and qualitative changes in the Armed Forces are taking place today in the conditions of ongoing preparation for the next, 28th party congress, elections to republic and local soviets, and the report and election campaign in party organizations. Active, energetic, fruitful participation in this work is a very important test for every ideological fighter in the Army and Navy. Maximum party spirit and competence, responsibility and efficiency, initiative and creativity—this, Army General D. Yazov said in conclusion, is the guarantee that ideological workers in the Army and Navy will worthily fulfill the responsibilities incumbent upon them: Namely, to educate the defenders of the motherland and achieve a qualitatively new situation in the Armed Forces.

Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, delivered a report at the conference on the state of ideological work and practical tasks in deepening its perestroyka in the Army and the Navy.

Major revolutionary transformations are under way today in all spheres of our life—economic, social, political, spiritual, and ideological—the speaker stressed. Perestroyka has unleashed the masses' creative, constructive energy and boosted their self-confidence. The country has been set in motion. More and more millions of Soviet people are becoming actively involved in sociopolitical activities.

The recent CPSU Central Committee Plenum and M.S. Gorbachev's reports at the plenum on the convening of the 28th CPSU Congress and the party's nationalities policy in current conditions rank among the most important events of perestroyka. This has created a reliable theoretical and political basis for party organizations' entire activity to prepare for the congress, for the further development of socialist nations, for the strengthening of their fraternal alliance, and for the improvement of the multinational Soviet federation.

An active process of elaborating and adopting legislative acts which are of tremendous importance for the implementation of the party's course of perestroyka is under way at the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

At the same time, it is impossible not to see that the positive changes are accompanied and even countered by other tendencies. The financial position of the state and the situation in the economy have deteriorated appreciably. Mounting tension in interethnic relations and increasing separatist tendencies in certain regions of the country are causing serious concern.

The profound economic, political, social, and spiritual changes entering our life together with perestroyka, Army General A. Lizichev stressed, determine the essential characteristics of the current ideological process in the country and in the Armed Forces. What should the direct organizers of ideological work bear in mind?

First, the acuteness and speed of the politicization of the people and Army and Navy personnel and the need for a realistic assessment of the situation in the country and the individual union republics.

Large-scale renewal processes are also under way in the Armed Forces. The complexity and multifaceted nature of perestroyka are smashing established stereotypes in thinking and mentality and the ideological and organizational forms of work of political organs and party and All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organizations. The 500,000-man reduction and the release of 176,000 students are a fact of present-day life. However, the ideological aktiv must not ignore or fail to react to the negative sentiments among some officers, the weakening of ties with local organs in some places, and the deterioration in the standard of military-patriotic education and basic military training. All this is creating a complex ideological situation.

Second, a new type of person is joining the Army today. He understands what democratization has to offer him. He is liberated, bold in his opinions and actions, and socially active. But on the other hand—and this is borne out by an analysis of the spring draft—up to 25 percent of draftees are known to the militia, 6.5 percent have previous convictions, and many have no family ties and have sampled alcohol and drugs. The intellectual potential of draftees has also diminished in connection with the fact that we stopped drafting students as from the spring of the current year.

Third, we have come up against unprecedented criticism of the party, the Army, and political organs in certain news media. This is not a simple issue. It has caused confusion among some people. Some people feel bitter. Yet others have succumbed to skepticism, which, as is known, is the most facile of philosophies.

As the CPSU Central Committee resolution noted, all this is having a negative impact on the education of personnel and civilian youth, does not help to strengthen the prestige of military service, and breeds pacifist sentiments. Army and Navy ideological cadres must be equipped with all the necessary facts, must be able to change people's minds and answer any questions, even the most pointed ones, and must never lose the political intiative.

The party, as the initiator and elaborator of the new political thinking, called for its extension to the military sphere. It was stressed that efforts to ensure states' security are increasingly shifting from the sphere of the correlation of military potentials to the sphere of political actions.

The defensive military doctrine and the principle of defense sufficiency appeared as the most rational solutions in this case. They were called upon to guarantee the highly reliable defense of the USSR and its allies. The effectiveness of Soviet military building was, henceforth, to be determined mainly by qualitative rather than quantitative parameters in respect of military hardware, military science, and the composition of the Armed Forces. This proposition received the backing of the 19th CPSU Conference.

What sort of Army does the country need at the moment and what sort of Army will it need in the long term? The first Congress of People's Deputies, the report noted, endorsed the proposal for further qualitative development of the Army and Navy in accordance with existing principles of their formation. This removed the questions of national military formations, territorial-militia training, an all-volunteer army, and so forth. Many new elements have been introduced and will continue to be introduced into the organizational structure of the troops and command organs. A new Statute on the Ministry of Defense and draft new general military regulations have been elaborated. Work is under way on laws on the USSR's defense, military duty, military service, and servicemen's status.

Democratization and glasnost are expanding and mechanisms for their development are being created (for instance, reports by political organs, assessments of their activity, and accountability and responsibility of all communists to their primary organization). A sharp reorientation toward man is being made. Measures are being adopted, including measures of a legislative nature, to ensure that our soldiers and officers enjoy better social protection. A more democratic service procedure for officers is being elaborated in the new statute. In order to stem protectionism, special permanently functioning certification commissions have been set up, and a new institution of officer democracy is currently being established—officers' meetings vested with great power. A housing program through the year 2000 has been approved.

There are certain positive changes also in the content of party-political and ideological work. There has been a more marked switch to political methods of leadership. Corrections have been made to methods of intraparty and ideological work and social science teaching at military higher educational establishments [VUZ's]. New syllabi and textbooks for political studies have been issued.

Questions of political education work and the duties of political cadres have been fundamentally reformulated in the new general military regulations in view of the defensive nature of our military doctrine.

The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a decision to restore military departments in the mass media, establish a writers' military-patriotic workshop, publish a weekly supplement to the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA under the title SYN OTECHESTVA [SON OF THE FATHERLAND], and expand the size of the journal SOVETSKIY VOIN and publish in union republic languages and foreign languages editions of this journal, its Komsomol-youth supplement BOYEVOY TOVARISHCH, and a large video supplement.

A sociopsychological research center has been set up at the Main Political Directorate. Mechanisms promoting independence, trust, and responsibility are being more efficiently set up within the Komsomol and the trade union.

On the whole, Army General A. Lizichev stressed, in the complex perestroyka situation in our society it has been possible to firmly establish a new political and moral atmosphere and a corresponding ideological climate in the Army and the Navy. No antisocialist sentiments have been displayed in the USSR Armed Forces.

Loyalty to the party's course, the course of perestroyka must be preserved, strengthened, and augmented. This is the pivotal task of all military councils, commanders, political organs, and ideological institutions of the Army and the Navy.

The report of Colonel General G. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, Colonel V. Ivlev, Lieutenant Colonel P. Illarionov, and other participants in the all-army conference noted that the level of exactingness among the troops and in the fleets is rising, the approach toward assessing achievements is becoming increasingly self-critical, and there is a desire to find effective solutions to existing problems. The downward trend in accidents and crime has been maintained. The number of unlawful actions, including among Communists and Komsomol members, is decreasing.

The focus on high political vigilance, the quality of training, the mobility of troops and naval forces, and their constant readiness to implement any tasks set them by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government must remain the pivotal concern of ideological work and all practical activities for the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 19th All-Union Party Conference, and the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

The leitmotif of the conference was the idea of the radical perestroyka and restructuring of all ideological work in the Army and the Navy. Tangible qualitative gains have already been achieved, for instance, at the Political Directorates of the Ground Forces, the Western Group, the Belorussian Military District, Moscow Military District, the Baltic Military District, the Turkestan Military District, the Transcaucasus Military District, and the Black Sea Fleet.

Experience of ideological support in the course of alert duty and during exercises has been augmented.

Considerable work for the perestroyka of ideological-political, moral, and military education is being carried out, for instance, by the Strategic Rocket Forces Military Council and Political Directorate. As a result the responsibility of Communists and all personnel for the high quality of alert duty and for mastering modern missile complexes is increasing.

The Western Group of Forces Political Directorate is actively implementing the perestroyka of ideological work. A transition to the targeted-problem method of work planning is being made in political organs on its initiative. Updates on important events in the USSR, in the host country, abroad, and within the formation or unit are being boldly introduced as an element of political training. A large detachment of staff, engineering, and technical personnel is taking an active part in lecture propaganda. As a result the moral atmosphere in the barracks is improving and discipline is tighter.

Praise was addressed from the conference rostrum to Propaganda and Agitation Department Chiefs Comrades V. Kondratyev, Ye. Saushkin, Ye. Krasnikov, and G. Bagarov and Department (Section) Chiefs Comrades V. Koreshkov, F. Teklyuk, and U. Kasymov.

The revitalization of military life depends to a considerable degree on the military press. The newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the journals SOVETSKIY VOIN, KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL, and AGITATOR ARMII I FLOTA, the district newspapers FRUNZENETS (Turkestan Military District), ZA RODINU (Baltic Military District), LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA (Transcaucasus Military District), SOVETSKAYA ARMIYA (Western Group of Forces), and NA STRAZHE ZAPOLARYA (Northern Fleet) have firmly embarked on the road of perestroyka and are competently implementing this line.

The perestroyka process is gathering strength also in cultural enlightenment establishments. The song contest program "When Soldiers Sing" enjoys deserved prestige among the troops and indeed our entire population.

However, there is obviously still a shortage of positive expeperience, the conference noted. The main shortcoming of ideological work persists—words are out of touch with reality. This seriously devalues the efforts to educate.

People's frame of mind and the moral and ethical atmosphere are created, above all, through ideological work. A new atmosphere in military collectives is the crux of perestroyka and the motor of acceleration. Unless this atmosphere is created all plans and decisions will come to nothing.

Real potential for further enhancing combat readiness and improving combat training exists in the Army and the Navy. However, it is not being used effectively enough. In certain units and formations we have still not succeeded in instilling in all servicemen a high sense of responsibility for maintaining combat readiness and intolerance toward indifference, complacency, and lack of discipline in discharging alert duty and in the organization of the training of troops and naval forces.

What must be done to concentrate the ideological potential of the Army and Navy on resolving the key tasks of combat readiness and combat training of troops and naval forces? What do we mean by ideological support for acceleration in military matters? First and foremost, in the opinion of the seminar participants, it is necessary to establish reliable organizational ties between political propaganda, agitation, and cultural enlightenment work and the life of the troops and naval forces, their training, and their improvement. The entire system of ideological and political education must create a new moral atmosphere in the barracks and crew's quarters—an atmosphere of creative endeavor, democracy, responsible decisions, firm discipline, and principle. It is important to stimulate questing thought, open up scope for innovative ideas and new views and proposals, and champion leading ideas.

The mechanism of functioning of all ideological institutions should also become more dynamic and flexible. It should be able to give theoretical interpretations of the problems of perestroyka, which is pioneering by its nature, and on the other hand it should channel all efforts toward the end result, active work, a real return. Now, in Lenin's words, "the historic moment has come when theory becomes practice, is animated by practice, is corrected by practice, is tested by practice...."

At the All-Army Conference much attention was devoted to problems of the further strengthening of military discipline. It was noted that things are better in the Odessa, Transbaykal, Turkestan, Moscow, Far East, and

Kiev Military Districts. There is every reason to attribute this in part to the improvement in the ideological and organizational work of political administrations and political organs.

But the assessments will not be so optimistic when it comes to concrete phenomena. Unfortunately there has yet to be a breakthrough to a new level of military discipline and effective ideological influence on people. What is particularly worrying here?

First and foremost, the slowing down of the pace at which the number of incidents is being reduced in a number of formations. Evasion, including group evasion, of military service, especially among people drafted from the republics of the Transcaucasus and the Baltic. Problems of safety and the protection of people's lives and of combating thefts of weapons have grown worse. In some places there has been a slackening of attention toward combat patrol duty and the eradication of drunkenness.

Ideological subunits and cadres should see that the level of discipline is becoming an increasingly political matter. This not only worries the Army and Navy, it also disturbs public opinion. Shortcomings foster criticism of the Armed Forces and military service as such, and while some of this criticism is healthy, some is deliberately inflated by some of the mass media.

It was said at the conference that political organs, ideological institutions, military mass media, and Communists fail to take sufficient account of the fact that the basis of strong military discipline is the conscious nature of the fulfillment by Army and Navy personnel of Soviet laws, military regulations, and orders from commanding officers and chiefs.

Many commanding officers and political organizers are unwilling or unable to admit that the former strong-arm methods of work do no good and are contrary to life and to the logic of perestroyka processes, but that they cannot work in the new way. This is partly the fault of ideological cadres, who have failed to restructure the minds of regressive individuals among command and political cadres.

The ideological mechanism of strengthening discipline involves thorough knowledge of the situation in the units, constant analysis, and clear specification of the duties of all the officials responsible for strengthening it: What each of them should do, when, and how.

The ideological mechanism of strengthening discipline involves the formulation and implementation of effective measures to provide ideological and legal backing for the regulation conditions of the life of subunits and units and to increase the educational influence of combat and political training.

The ideological mechanism of strengthening discipline involves ensuring democratism in the life of military and labor collectives and increasing the role of the public in strengthening law and order, including the role of the Officers' Assembly, comradely courts, and Komsomol and trade union organizations. Glasnost in discussing all misdemeanors and a public assessment of their negative influence. This is, of course, the most important thing in the struggle against bullying [dedovshchina] and hometown favoritism [zemlyachestvo].

The ideological mechanism also presupposes attention toward resolving social problems and concern for the material and domestic needs of officers, warrant officers, and their families.

Instances of rudeness, boorishness, and disrespect for subordinates are particularly intolerable today. This is being spoken of at the Supreme Soviet session and written about in the all-union press. It is necessary to close ranks against latter-day Derzhimordas [reference to coarse, brutal police officer in Gogol's play "The Government Inspector"] and give a party assessment of every instance of rudeness and tyranny, to put the rampant bureaucrats and loudmouths in their place, to tell them resolutely that their day has passed forever into oblivion.

Another point that was expressed very firmly in the course of the conference: The ideological mechanism of strengthening discipline involves the quest for and full discovery of the potential inherent in the socialist, popular nature of the Soviet Armed Forces. The live-giving source of our Army's strength is its close kinship and unity with the people.

It is necessary clearly to define one's place in relation to the concrete measures stemming from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee September (1989) Plenum. The activity of political organs, party organizations, and all ideological cadres on this matter is gaining paramount importance at present.

The CPSU Central Committee September plenum and the party Central Committee Politburo demanded that every party organ have a detailed program for improving interethnic relations. This program could specify:

—a system for the study of personnel, accompanied by the formulation of educational and organizational measures;
—a system for training commanding officers and the aktiv in the sphere of the formation of multinational military collectives and patriotic and international education;
—a system for the rational distribution of personnel among subunits and units and representation of nationalities on elected organs, in social organizations, and in commissions and groups dealing with interethnic questions;
—a system for meeting the cultural needs of servicemen of different nationalities;
—a system and methodology for political education work with servicemen who do not speak Russian. The full diversity of the problem certainly requires an active position on the part of every political organ and

> ideological institution, a new pace of work. Here it is important not to fall behind, but to act efficiently and keep ahead of events.

The conference cited preparations for the elections to republican and local organs of power as one of the most important areas of ideological work. Attention was drawn to questions of organizational and mass political activity by political organs, party organizations, the Komsomol, and all social institutions in the Army and Navy, in which an important place should be assigned to explaining to servicemen, workers, employees, and their families the significance of the forthcoming elections, the nature of the changes in the union republics' Constitutions, and the specific features of the laws on elections. It was recommended that the CPSU election platform, as well as the election programs of the union republics, form the basis of explanatory work. The report pointed to the need to provide clear predictions for each stage of the election campaign, offer help to candidate deputies, take into account the experience of past elections, and establish and maintain businesslike contacts with republican and local party and soviet organs, electoral commissions, and social organizations. The unacceptability of a passive, neutral stance on their part in the election campaign was stressed.

The conference discussed with concern the slow introduction of democratic principles in the organization of political training and advanced methods and forms of carrying out educational work. Statistics were cited. Some 42 percent of students undergoing Marxist-Leninist training who were polled during a sociological study said that they are not satisfied with the state of that training. Some 52 percent of seamen and petty officers are not interested in their political studies.

There was a discussion on ways of further improving the content, organization, forms, and methods of political training. It was noted that the Main Political Directorate's Ideological Work Directorate should annually define philosophical subject areas for all forms of political education and draw up appropriate programs, plans, and study and methodological literature. Political directorates of branches of the Armed Forces are granted the right to make changes to the content of study plans in the light of the peculiarities of their service and the tasks being carried out by troops and fleets.

The report and the speeches examined comprehensively the problems of the training and education of propagandist cadres and political study leaders and clarified the functions of such important military ideological institutions as universities of Marxism-Leninism. In particular, it is proposed to use these as a base for the formation of universities for the study of the problems of perestroyka. The question of abolishing divisional party schools and, on the basis of the posts thus freed, bringing full-time military psychologists and sociologists into the political departments of formations, is also under consideration.

The participants in the ensuing debate noted the relatively meager scientific contribution of military social scientists to the cause of deepening perestroyka. They seem to be obsessed with the past, at the expense of the future. But you cannot, the speakers noted, move forward while looking only backward. It was said at the conference that the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy and the social sciences faculties at other military educational establishments are to carry out a scientific study, "Political Training-92." It is planned to publish a special appendix to the journal KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL.

The conference participants expressed the firm conviction that ideological tasks can be tackled successfully only if the center of gravity is genuinely shifted to individual work with people. In this respect quite good experience exists in the activity of political directorates and political departments of a number of military districts. However, the individual approach to education among the troops has by no means become firmly established. One of the main obstacles here is the low level of pedagogical skill of certain command and political cadres. Some 30 percent of officers, according to the results of research carried out in a number of military districts and fleets, have extremely poor skills in organizing individual educational work.

The conference defined concrete ways of further improving individual work in the Army and Navy in the light of the radically new phenomena that have arisen in the political life of the country and the Armed Forces.

There was also a detailed discussion of the practical activity of ideological cadres in the leadership of the work of the mass media. It was noted that political organs have done much to promote perestroyka in the activity of military newspapers and journals. But unfortunately the work of the editorial offices of military newspapers and journals is not yet producing the anticipated results. Their efficiency index remains low. Concern is caused by the fact that political organs, ideological workers, and representatives of the army press show a certain impotence and inertia with regard to the flow of disinformation pouring into the Soviet Armed Forces through certain mass media. As if they had retreated to the innermost defenses and were not thinking about retaliatory strikes, not to mention a counteroffensive. This position, the speakers said, was clearly highlighted by the "roundtable" held at the Moscow Military Political School on the subject "Society and the Army: The Art of Political Dialogue in the Press." Unfortunately the debate simply did not happen. The following fact was also cited. Recently a group of officers from the Main Political Directorate investigated the state of party leadership of the military press in the Leningrad Military District. It transpired that in the last 3 years the activity of the district and unit newspapers has never once been examined at sessions of the military council. There is no system for briefing journalists. No concern is shown for increasing the effectiveness of press articles. Workers from the political directorate, the staff political department, and the political organs of the divisions rarely address the editorial offices and do not always rebuff those who suppress criticism. Furthermore, sometimes they themselves bring pressure to bear on a newspaper for publishing sensitive articles, and literally demand that items on topical issues be dropped from the issue. It is very hard to explain this: Why did the editor of the district newspaper and the chiefs of leading departments not even have passes to the district political directorate and staff, prior to the arrival of the commission from Moscow?

Problems of increasing the effectiveness of the use of television in the Armed Forces and perestroyka in the work of cultural institutions was also a subject of discussion at the conference.

An important feature of current ideological work, it was noted at the conference, is that it is taking place in an atmosphere of keen confrontation between socialist and bourgeois ideology. In some places, they have begun to forget this. To forget that the "psychological warfare" unleashed by imperialism has never ended. It is only becoming more sophisticated now. "Psychological warfare" is a struggle for people's minds, their perception of the world, the social and spiritual guides in their lives. Ideological cadres have no right to forget this. Assertiveness is needed. Work that keeps ahead of events is needed. More boldness is needed; more efforts on the front of the struggle against bourgeois ideology.

In the report and in the speeches by Major General V. Makeyev, Colonels S. Kuzmin and V. Kozlov, Lieutenant Colonel V. Kondratyev, and other conference participants, the conviction was expressed that today our Marxist-Leninist ideology must gain a second wind, and ideological work must become the most important guarantor of the revolutionary renewal of our Fatherland and its Armed Forces. That requires a bold, resolute rejection of obsolete theoretical dogmas and stereotypes, the active, purposeful assimilation of the ideas of the new political thinking, and a critical, revolutionary interpretation of reality.

The intellectualization of ideological work also involves the firm and resolute eradication of formalism and routine bureaucratization of the forms and methods of ideological education activity and the right choice of ways and means of propaganda and agitation.

It was stressed that the ideological education process, if it is not backed up by concrete organizational work, is, as a rule, amorphous and lifeless. At the same time organizational work without ideological work is blind. That means learning perestroyka, learning to live and work in conditions of democracy not in words, but in practice.

The task is for every political organ and ideological service to know the situation on the spot and the people's mood and have a sense of where the unresolved problems have accumulated, where their help is needed, and where tension is arising. This tension must be alleviated and the commanding officers, political workers, and aktiv must be given help to understand a given situation and unravel any major problem—be it combat training, discipline, ideological work, everyday life, or relationships among officers or in the soldiers' collective.

The ideological cadres' main support in this work is the primary party organizations, where all the threads of ideological work converge. The CPSU Statutes say: The primary party organizatoin "organizes the Communists' study of Marxist-Leninist theory... combats any manifestations of bourgeois ideology, revisionism and dogmatism, and backward views and feelings." It is the primary party organizations that should galvanize the official, social, and political activeness of officers, soldiers, seamen, sergeants, and warrant officers on compulsory military service. It is also necessary to substantially boost the work of the party committees' deputy secretaries responsible for ideology.

The days have gone forever when you could pin all your hopes on the sagacious boss higher up and regard your leadership post as an impregnable fortress, counting on a directive or call from above on every problem. The transition from fulfilling orders to autonomy, initiative, and responsibility is hard. But this border must be crossed. The quicker the better. The times of political ease have gone. Everyone, without exception, must work in a new way, autonomously and responsibily, with initiative and creativity.

The CPSU Central Committee September Plenum, it was stressed at the conference, adopted a decision to convene the next, 28th CPSU Congress, which will be in October 1990. This will be a major political event in the life of the party and country. The congress will basically be a political examination in the main subject in our lives—perestroyka. Therefore all ideological work should be carried out in such a way as to ensure that we pass this examination worthily and take to the congress good practical experience and real results in combat readiness, combat and political training, military discipline, and social and cultural life in the Army and Navy.

To bring about acceleration in ideological work—that is the main task of its immediate organizers. It requires from everyone unprecedented responsibility, competence, professionalism, boldness, initiative, a high degree of ideological commitment, moral purity, a constant need to communicate with people, and the ability to resolve in a soldierly manner the tasks set by the party Central Committee.

In the course of the conference there were meetings and talks with CPSU Central Committee workers on topical problems of interethnic relations in the party's ideological work at the present stage, and with USSR people's deputies and mass media leaders. There was also a "roundtable" on the radical economic reform and the conversion of military production. There was also an executive game on the method of conducting debate on problems of present-day military building.

A large group of Army and Navy ideological workers were given incentive awards by the USSR defense minister.

Moiseyev Admits Nationalities Problem in Forces

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[Text] Moscow, 25 Oct (TASS)—The exterritorial principle of manning the USSR armed forces is "an objective reality necessary to safeguard the guranteed defense of the Soviet state", Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General staff of the USSR Armed Forces, has stated.

He gave an interview to TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy in connection with various rumors being circulated in the foreign media concerning allegedly "tense national relations" which have arisen recently in the Soviet armed forces and the need to revive national units and create republican national armies.

According to the general, the task of defending the state cannot be resolved within the framework of republican or regional isolation. Defense is a statewide function, he stressed. It cannot be viewed on a regional level, for the danger of war exists for the whole state and not for one individual republic. It is impossible today for one republic to set up and maintain a modern army without fraternal aid. "Slogans about a national-republican model for the armed forces have no political, social, or defense grounds," the Soviet military leader pointed out.

Mikhail Moiseyev described talk of a "nationality-based split" of the Soviet Union and its armed forces as nothing other than "ideological subversion." "The army has made and will continue to make its contribution to the cause of strengthening friendship and cooperation between the nations and ethnic groups of the USSR," he stated.

At the same time, the general did not deny that the negative processes in interethnic relations which are occurring in certain union republics have touched the army, too. This is manifested in cases of national egoism and conceit on the part of individual servicemen and cliquishness on grounds of nationality.

Acknowledging the existence of nationality problems in the armed forces, Mikhail Moiseyev pointed out that "they demand increased attention." The main route for resolving them in his view lies in ensuring that "military service becomes a true school of internationalism."